

ANTHROPOLOGICAL SERIES

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FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY

FOUNDED BY MARSHALL FIELD, 1893

VOLUME XXVI

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SOURCE BOOK  
FOR  
AFRICAN ANTHROPOLOGY

PART II

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PUBLICATION 396



572.096

Hamb



CHICAGO, U. S. A.

1937

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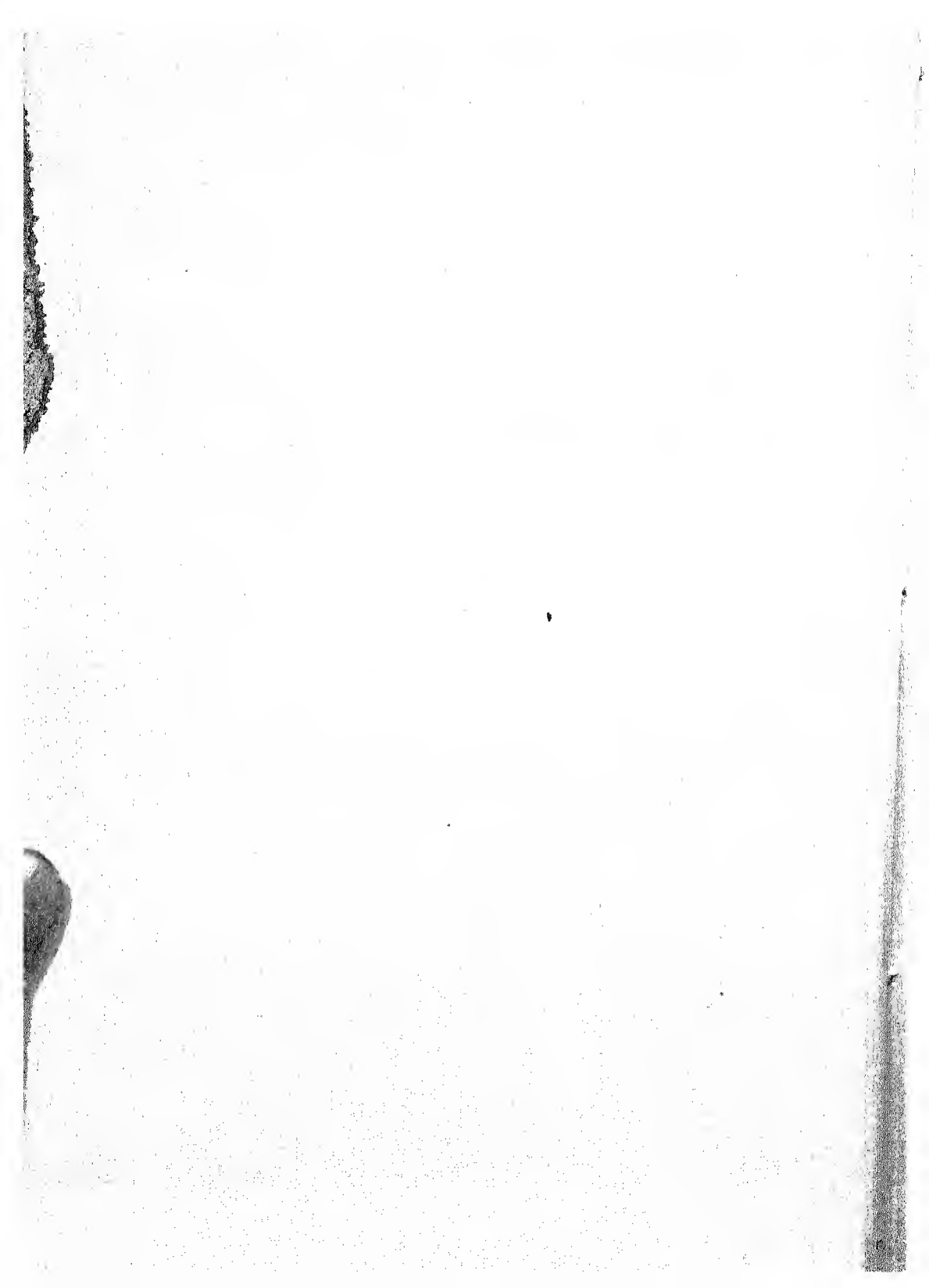
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SOURCE BOOK  
FOR  
AFRICAN ANTHROPOLOGY

SECTION III  
BASIC ELEMENTS OF NEGRO CULTURE





# SOURCE BOOK FOR AFRICAN ANTHROPOLOGY

## III. BASIC ELEMENTS OF NEGRO CULTURE

### INTRODUCTION

In consideration of the great area occupied by Negroes, and in view of local differences in their physique, language, and culture, is it permissible to speak of a *Negro culture*? I believe that certain general fundamentals of Negro culture can be profitably considered, but with reservations.

### DIFFICULTY OF CULTURAL CLASSIFICATION

A question arises respecting the cultural position of Nilotic Negroes and Half-Hamites: where do they fit in the scheme describing the basic elements of Negro culture? Nilotic Negroes are a number of tribes living in the region of the upper White Nile. These tribes have languages that are basically Sudanic Negro, with Hamitic elements (Murray, 1920). The physique is essentially that of Negroes, but a Hamitic mixture makes itself evident, especially among the Shilluk (C. G. Seligman, 1910, p. 174). The culture is pastoral, and agriculture is relatively unimportant. The Nilotic Negroes, also the Half-Hamites, Masai, Nandi, and Suk, were therefore included in a description of pastoral tribes (section II), and for this reason only brief reference will be made to these pastoral Negroes during a comparative study of Bantu and Sudanic Negroes.

Bantu-speaking Negroes could be divided into many subsections, not only on linguistic but on cultural grounds, yet this work has not proceeded far, and Schapera's (1929a, 1934c) arrangements are chiefly geographical and linguistic.

Some of the social and economic distinctions between divisions of the Bantu depend on the extent to which cattle have become important in tribal life. The Ovimbundu of Angola are Bantu Negroes with an agricultural system that is basic in their social and economic life, yet cattle are ceremonially important. The Ovambo of South West Africa, and the Zulu of southeast Africa, are Bantu Negroes, physically and linguistically, but their social pattern has been affected by the rearing of large herds. These are border-line instances of Bantu Negro cultures with traits closely related to the pastoral Hamitic cultures of northeast Africa.

Among Sudanic-speaking Negroes of west Africa, all of whom are agricultural, certain local developments of the social and religious

pattern have to be noted (Rattray, 1923, 1927a, b); and in Dahomey (M. J. and F. S. Herskovits, 1933; Le Hérissé, 1911). Among the Yoruba (S. Johnson, 1921) and the Jukun (Meek, 1931a) special developments in ancestor worship, the sacredness of kings, court procedure, art, and military organization have taken place. Therefore, in describing Negro culture in general such specializations have to be recognized (Labouret, 1931).

But despite the presence of borderline instances of the mingling of distinct types of culture, and the special development of cultural traits in some areas, there yet remains the possibility of describing what is fundamental in religion, law, social organization, and economics in the areas (6A and 6B) shown on the map of culture distributions (Map 4).

Although no present tribal classification is satisfactory and we have no complete gazetteer of tribes, assistance with tribal names and localities is given by Schapera (1929a) for the Bantu, Roome (1925) for all Africa, Maes and Boone (1935) for the Congo, Joyce and Braunholtz (1925), and Torday (1930), for Negroes in general, Van Warmelo (1935) for South Africa, and Jerrard (1936) for Tanganyika. Most of the tribes mentioned in this section can be located by use of Map 1, facing page 1. A bibliography classified according to political areas is given at the end of vol. II, pp. 836-839.

In studying the social organization of Negroes, students will be greatly helped by perusal of a work edited by F. Eggan (1937). The several contributors deal with kinship, law, and other aspects of social organization among American Indians. Yet the principles of inquiry, suggested categories of legal sanctions, together with exposition and criticism of the views of Professor A. R. Radcliffe Brown, will be a stimulus in the study of Negro Africa.

## I. SEXUAL LIFE

### COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Study of sexual relations is a necessary introduction to consideration of tribal structure and the functioning of all institutions. The permanent union of a man and a woman leads to the founding of a family which is the basic social unit. If the nature of this union is understood, then facts pertaining to the kinship system, government, law, religion, and economics can be seen in their logical relationship.

#### TYPICAL BANTU COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

When gathering information among the Ovimbundu, my interpreter Ngonga, himself an Ocimbundu who spoke English fluently, said, "If a boy wants a girl he should look at her for several days. Then he will speak to the girl, who will tell him to go to her parents." If the parents approve of the boy a friendship begins, "but the boy must not do anything to the girl," and my informant stated that birth of a child during the courtship would be a shameful occurrence.

Infant betrothals are common among Negroes, and parents may have an understanding relating to the mating of children even before their birth. But, despite many instances of this parental prerogative, a broad survey shows that the actual right of refusal frequently rests with the girl herself.

Ngonga said that the small gifts of the suitor to the parents of his betrothed mean that "this girl is mine, and no other boy will ask for her because she is promised." The gift is, therefore, a token and not a purchase. But among the Ovimbundu, and with the majority of Negro tribes, a gift or token more valuable than the present which secures a courtship must be made to the girl's parents before the marriage is ratified. Ngonga emphasized the tendency of parents to argue. "You must bring a better blanket," they may say when concluding the arrangements.

But after the parents have accepted the tokens, a meeting of the relatives of the bride and groom is called in the men's council house (*onjango*). Here the parents of the girl exhort her to be a good wife and, above all, to treat visiting relatives with hospitality. The prospective bride chooses one married woman and six unmarried girls to accompany her to the house that has been built by her husband on his father's land, as near to his parental home as possible.

The marriage is therefore patrilocal in this instance, but other types will have to be noted.

For three nights the Ocimbundu bride sleeps at the home of her parents, while the groom returns to his parents for the same period. In the meantime the new home of the bride and groom is temporarily occupied by the attendants of the bride. During these three days the groom is ironically addressed as *sandombua*, a word which expresses the fact that he has not consummated the marriage.

On the fourth day after the wedding in the *onjango*, the bride brings to her new home a few simple utensils, such as cooking pots, a broom, some wooden vessels, and pounders for crushing maize. During the first month of married life a bride is not allowed to cook in her own home, but all culinary work has to be done in the house of her husband's parents, and meals for her husband are sent to the *onjango*, where all men foregather to eat at least their evening meal apart from women.

When the bride begins work in her own home, three old women who have been happily married are invited to lay the hearthstones, which they consecrate with the sprinkled blood of a freshly killed chicken. While the young wife performs her tasks she is guided by the three old women, who actually take hold of her hands while she is stirring the mush or sifting the maize. After a few days of this supervision the young husband and wife are left alone.

#### PREMARITAL CHASTITY

The question of the virginity of a newly married girl raises the subject of prenuptial relations, especially after a courtship has begun. On this point Ngonga was quite clear. He said that in former times virginity was expected in a bride, and if she proved to be otherwise the husband burnt a hole in her cloth and made her take the garment to her mother. Restitution of part of the presents given by the husband to his wife's parents reunited the couple.

Among the Ovimbundu, although premarital pregnancy is a disgrace, boy and girl companions sleep together at irregular intervals in the home of one of the girls. But girls are not allowed to sleep at a home of one of the boys, and sexual acts are forbidden. A girl calls her boy companion *ombaisi*, and he gives her the same name, which is a special term for this intimate prenuptial relationship.

In reviewing Bantu marriage customs E. Torday (1929b) refers to premarital friendships of boys and girls who sleep together even

to the age of seventeen, though pregnancy is regarded as a disgrace. Torday suggests that the boys and girls practice mutual masturbation, and he thinks it possible that, despite the apparent sexual freedom, actual coitus does not take place.

Torday makes a distinction between the attitude of the eastern and western Bantu toward prenuptial chastity. He states that the eastern Bantu value virginity highly, and quotes instances from the Akikuyu and the Wachagga. A Chagga girl who became pregnant, though betrothed, was driven from home and obliged to live with her lover in a remote place until the child was born. The parents had to strangle their infant at birth. Bapidi girls must remain virgins until marriage, and in some clans the girls are examined on the day of their marriage by female relatives of their husbands.

"In Zululand even to-day strict control is exercised by the groups of older girls over those younger than themselves, and a girl may not even speak to a boy after she has reached puberty until she has received permission to do so from the elder group. A girl's pregnancy defiles her whole age-set in that neighborhood." Krige (1936a, pp. 5, 6.) See also H. Wieschhoff (1937b, pp. 221-235).

The data assembled by Torday indicate the laxity of sex relations among the western Bantu before marriage; apparently the Ovimbundu are an exception to Torday's general conclusion, for they are a western Bantu tribe who value premarital virginity. In support of Torday's conclusion respecting laxity of the western Bantu with regard to virginity, J. H. Weeks (1914, p. 107) states that the Bakongo tolerate sexual freedom before marriage.

#### BETROTHAL AND PAYMENT

H. A. Stayt (1931a, pp. 143, 151) has pointed out that among the Bavenda, who are Bantu Negroes of the northern Transvaal, *lobola* in the form of cattle passes from the groom's family to that of the bride. The *lobola* is a compensation for loss of a female, a potential bearer of children. Unless a man pays *lobola* for his wife his marriage is not recognized by the community, neither can he obtain his children, since they are not considered his lawful property. Instances occur in which a woman pays *lobola* in order to obtain another woman who has sexual relations with the husband of the female purchaser. A female who brings another woman to her home in this way is called "father" by the children of the woman for whom she paid *lobola*. See Herskovits (1937b). A husband may serve his wife's family, as among the Mashona, in lieu of *lobola*. But residence

with his wife's kin for this purpose is not a true matrilocal condition Schapera (1929, No. 86).

A. I. Richards (1934, p. 272) states that among the Babemba marriage is matrilocal. Girls are betrothed usually before puberty, and after the first symbolic presentations to the parents-in-law the bridegroom, often himself a mere boy, moves to the bride's village and works for a period, possibly seven years, for his father-in-law. After the birth of one or more children, and after proving his capability as a worker and making further payments to his bride's parents, the husband may take his bride from her own kindred.

R. S. Rattray's data (1927a, p. 77) relating to Sudanic Negroes of Ashanti are in agreement with the facts noted for Bantu betrothal. Infant betrothal exists among the Ashanti, and the agreement may be an arrangement between parents, who ratify the compact by presents which are returned if a union of their children is not established. A female child calls her betrothed boy her husband and carries his bundle for him, but no sexual intercourse takes place. Rattray's statements support the present contention of ethnologists who assert that the term "bride-price" is a misnomer. In Ashanti "gifts from the parents of the boy to those of the girl merely secure a sexual prerogative, and a right to claim damages for its infringement." The gifts do not enrich the parents, since the articles are distributed among witnesses. Rattray states that "there is a fairly large repudiation of such betrothals," and he believes that many marriages are based on genuine affection. Formerly in Ashanti virginity was respected. Before her marriage ceremony a prospective bride broke an egg at crossroads, saying, "If anyone has eaten me may my *obosum* (god) kill me." If a bride confessed to premartial sexual intercourse, the seducer and the bride's parents had to make a payment to the aggrieved husband. For discussion of the term "bride-price" see "Man," 1929, Nos. 107, 174; 1931, No. 187; 1932, No. 68, and A. T. and G. M. Culwick (1934, pp. 140-159).

#### MARRIAGE AMONG WESTERN NEGROES

An Ashanti wedding takes place on the sixth day after the girl's second menstruation, when the fully ornamented bride is led by her mother to the hut where her husband waits. The bride and her mother give thanks for presents received; then they go away but return after dark. The husband gives his mother-in-law a present of tobacco, and the three remain in conversation for a time, after which the bride is left alone with her husband.

In describing the Kona, who are a section of the Jukun of eastern Nigeria, C. K. Meek (1931a, pp. 278, 386) reports that a man commits an offence if he has sexual relations before the ears of his betrothed are pierced. After this operation, which is performed at puberty by a male relative of the groom, a messenger announces, "Your horse has had its ears pierced today, you may now mount the animal." The groom makes a gift of a tobacco pipe and tobacco to his bride's parents.

Married life among the Kona is for a time characterized by visits of increasing frequency paid by the bride to the groom, whom she leaves before dawn to return to her own home. Delay in making the marriage absolute is arranged so that the girl's family will have an undisputed claim to the first child, which is regarded as part of the compensation for loss of the bride herself from her kin. During the probationary period the "trial" wife is allowed to have intercourse with other men, and if her sexual relations with them are criticized she replies, "What has that to do with you? Have I yet gone to your house as a wife?" The true marriage relationship begins six months after the birth of the first child, and at that time the girl goes permanently to her husband's kin.

The Jibu, who are another section of the Jukun, are described by Meek as a mother-right people who practice matrilocal marriage; but this is scarcely a true matrilocal marriage since residence of a husband with his wife's kindred is only temporary. The suitor's ability to farm is more important than gifts, so during a period of one or two years he is required to work on the farm of his father-in-law, or on that of his wife's elder sister's husband. Children born during this matrilocal residence remain with their mother's kin if for any reason, including their mother's death, the marriage is dissolved. Meek explains that the Jukun, according to locality, show stages of transition from mother-right, to father-right, and from matrilocal to patrilocal conditions. Matrilocal marriage favors monogamy, places a check on adultery, and makes divorce more difficult than under patrilocal conditions.

Marriage arrangements among Sudanic Negroes have been described by H. Labouret (1931, pp. 261, 269), who speaks of prenatal betrothals and marriage contracts made for infants. Formalities include an exchange of gifts between the parents of the two children, but before the contract is ratified at puberty the arrangement may be canceled; freedom of action of the betrothed and their respective families is made clear. If an engagement is broken, the

youth may claim compensation for work done on the land of his father-in-law. Refusal of such a request formerly led to combat between the two families, but at the present time the matter is settled by a tribunal.

A man of the Agni tribe who desires a girl in marriage has to explain his intention to her parents. Then, if their consent is given, he spends a night with the girl. The parents are fully aware of the betrothal but are not openly cognizant of the fact that the betrothed have passed the night together. Yet the parents must have some knowledge of this act, for if the suitor has spent the night with their daughter, then repudiates her, he has to appear before a council of her family, who extract a fine from him (L. Tauxier, 1931a, pp. 49-51).

On the contrary, if the youth and the girl wish to continue their engagement, the suitor approaches her parents the day following their night together. The dowry to be obtained from the young man is a matter for discussion between the two families concerned. For breach of contract at any time before marriage, the fine for either of the defaulting lovers is twenty-five francs. The marriage ceremony consists of leading the bridegroom to the bride, and in public he decorates her and her relatives with presents.

So far only simple marriage contracts have been considered among Bantu and Sudanic Negroes, but more complex forms of union are known, especially in Dahomey and Ashanti, while among the southern Bantu a form of state marriage exists.

#### DIFFERENT TYPES OF MARRIAGE CONTRACT

A. Le Hérissé (1911, pp. 203-226) speaks of two main types of marriage union, and within each of these he recognizes several minor varieties. In unions of the *hongbo* type the married woman is in an inferior position which is somewhat close to slavery. She was bought at birth with cowries, and always accepts the spouse so provided. Her children by this marriage belong to the husband's family group. A second and distinct type of marriage gives power to the maternal family, who are regarded as owners of the children by this marriage. Within this second type of marriage three varieties are discussed, one of which is called "*de la chèvre au bouc.*" The phrase means "taking a she-goat to a he-goat." Unions of this kind are sought by men of small means, and the children of such a marriage belong to the mother. The types of marriage vary in respect to the dowry payable by the groom, the priority of rights of either



the father's or the mother's kindred over the children, and the extent to which dowry is returnable to the husband in event of his wife's death, or divorce on account of her adultery.

R. S. Rattray (1927a, p. 82) describes three main types of marriage contract in Ashanti. There exists an ordinary form of marriage in which a dowry *aseda* has been paid by the prospective husband to his parents-in-law. If a wife who has been secured in this way dies or leaves her husband, but not because of her misconduct, the husband is not entitled to a refund of the bride-wealth he paid. In a second type of marriage a man secures his wife by paying to her parents a sum named '*tiri nsa* (head wine) in order to liquidate a debt owed by the woman's family. A third form of marriage requires that a husband shall secure his wife by paying to her parents both *aseda* and '*tiri nsa*. The second type of marriage demands, that if the wife dies, her parents must return to her husband the sum he paid in liquidation of their debt. In the third type of marriage the procedure at the death of a wife is the same as in case two, but only the '*tiri nsa* and not *aseda* can be reclaimed by the widower. For Nigeria (C. K. Meek, 1936, pp. 64-72) has described two principal forms of marriage: (1) By payment of bride-price; and (2) by exchange.

Forms of state marriage described by J. H. Driberg (1932b), should perhaps be regarded as a completely normal development, and not outside the ordinary rules of African marriage. Some Bantu tribes of south Africa afford instances of state marriage in which the bride-price is paid, not by the husband, but as a contribution from the whole tribe. The state wife who has been secured in this way is expected to provide an heir to succeed her husband in office. A state marriage cannot be dissolved unless it fails to provide an heir, and even in case of barrenness divorce may not ensue, since the difficulty is sometimes met by giving the chief a sister of his state wife.

#### MARRIAGE AMONG NILOTIC NEGROES

Among Nilotic Negroes the procedure of betrothal and marriage bears resemblance to that of Sudanic and Bantu Negroes. Driberg says of the Lango that marriages are the result of individual choice on the part of man and woman, and that as a rule married life is happy and harmonious. The dowry is not really a purchase, since cattle paid for the bride are used by her parents to procure a wife for one of their sons, and in this way the dowry is a means of restoring equilibrium. Of prenuptial relations between the sexes Driberg

(1923, p. 67) states that "among the Nilo-Hamites, and to a lesser extent among the Nilotics, free love is socially encouraged, and so long as the marriage taboos relative to kinship are observed the status neither of men nor of women is affected by prenuptial license." (Driberg, 1932c, p. 416.)

For the Shilluk, W. Hofmayr (1925, pp. 288, 291, 295) states that women have a high social standing. Betrothal is arranged by an intermediary. The dowry is usually ten cows, and the suitor makes frequent presents of food to his future parents-in-law. A sham fight between kin of the bride and the friends of the groom takes place when he goes to claim her. This is a usual custom in the Nilotic Negro tribes, and according to L. Cummins (1904, pp. 149-166) abduction of a Dinka bride is carried out through a hole in the back wall of her hut while a sham fight is in progress. Cummins states that a wife is obtained either by purchase, the price being paid in cattle, or by capture from hostile clans or tribes. Wives obtained by a raid are inferior in position to wives obtained by payment of a dowry of cattle, but the children of the two classes of wives are of equal standing.

The foregoing instances have been selected as illustrative examples of a large body of evidence which has the same general trend. The data make clear that among Negroes women are not of inferior status in respect to marriage. Infant betrothals are common, but the contract is not binding, and a girl has considerable freedom of choice. The main fact to grasp is that marriage is a definite contract between individuals and their kindred, and that the legal bond, which involves payment of a dowry and often a public marriage rite, lays a sure foundation for permanent family life. The dowry paid by the bridegroom is compensation for loss of a child-bearing individual from her own kindred.

With regard to prenuptial sexual relations the evidence is equivocal, and further research, such as that carried out by E. Torday for the eastern and western Bantu, might show definite regional attitudes toward premarital license. The nature of the marriage contract and the status of women may be further considered by reviewing customs relating to polygamy and divorce.

Other regular forms of marriage, namely, the levirate and gerontocracy, also enjoined marriages and prohibited unions, are described in section III, chap. III, "Social Organization." The levirate, by which custom a man inherits widows of his brother, is further discussed under "Law," in section III, chap. IV, "Social Controls."

## POLYGAMY

Of the two forms of polygamy, which means "marrying many," polygyny, a term referring to plurality of wives, is far the more common in Africa and in all other parts of the world. The term polyandry is not of precise connotation, since the word has been used to describe different kinds of sexual unions of a woman with more than one man. Polyandry exists in Tibet, in the Marquesas Islands, and among the Todas of southern India. Among the Dieri tribe of Australia a woman has her husband (*tippa-malku*) and also her recognized lover (*pirraru*), who has sexual privileges.

Polyandry, meaning the recognized union of one woman with more than one man, is reported by J. Roscoe (1923a, p. 123; 1915, p. 121) among the Banyankole of northeast Africa, but this type of union is rare among Negroes. Roscoe states that Banyankole polyandry arises from the inability of a man to pay cattle as a dowry. In event of poverty, a man asks one or more of his brothers to join with him in procuring a woman, who becomes the lawful wife of all who assisted in contributing the dowry. The woman lives with each of her husbands in turn until pregnant, then she remains with the oldest brother until her child is born. Only the oldest brother goes through the form of marriage, but it is understood that the woman is the wife of all, yet all the offspring of such a marriage are recognized as children of the oldest brother.

This is hardly a true polyandrous relationship, since only one brother goes through the form of marriage. The arrangement appears to mean that younger brothers, because of their contribution to the dowry, have access to the wife of their oldest brother. Roscoe says, "There appears to have been no difficulty in obtaining a woman as the wife of several men, nor were there any quarrels or unhappiness." The validity of the term polyandry becomes still more doubtful when Roscoe refers to "clan brothers" having access to one woman.

C. K. Meek (1925, 1, p. 198) has examined the nature of certain sex relations in northern Nigeria and has discussed the applicability of the word polyandry to these unions. "Among the Gwari a man who captures another's wife is under no obligation to repay the former husband, and the children born to him are his. A Gwari woman may indeed have several husbands and families in different towns, living now with one, now with another, as she feels inclined. As the children belong not to the first husband but to the actual father, we have here a fairly close approximation to true polyandry.

As a general rule, however, the *zaga* wife-abductor remains a *cicisbeo* until the former husband chooses to accept from him an equivalent of the bride-price originally given to the girl's parents. Until this is done the husband has a claim on all children born by the abductor, and the *zaga* is a temporary union only and cannot be regarded as a marriage. The *cicisbeo* character of the *zaga* is well illustrated by the custom among the Warji that as soon as the runaway wife conceives by the *cicisbeo* she must forthwith return to her husband."

Instances of a true sororate are as doubtful as examples of a genuine polyandrous marriage. By the sororate is meant the espousal of a man to two or more sisters; this custom has sometimes been described as a group marriage. A note has previously been made to the effect that a man whose wife proves barren may espouse her sister. The parents of the barren wife give the sister as compensation, but the first wife, though childless, probably retains her place as the Great Wife or head woman in the polygynous household. Possibly this custom has given rise to a European conception of a sororate. The Ovimbundu, though polygynous when circumstances permit, definitely forbid marriage with a wife's sister while the wife is alive; but marriage with a deceased wife's sister is permissible.

Descriptions of the courts of important kings and chiefs leave a false impression of the extent of polygyny among Negroes. Instances can be found of a king's household which contains hundreds of wives, some of whom he has never seen; but polygyny of this kind is rare, and fortunately so because of the probable social and personal injustice involved.

Data relating to the normal occurrence of polygyny in various areas are inadequate for preparation of precise statements giving the number of men who have two or more wives. C. W. Hobley (1910, p. 13) tabulates the number of wives in each of thirty-eight families of the Akamba. Eleven families with one wife, nine families with two wives, seven families with three wives, five families with four wives, one family with five wives, two families with six wives, one family with seven wives, one family with eight wives, and one family with fifteen wives. This, however, was almost thirty years ago and conditions have probably changed in the direction of monogamy.

The largest polygynous family I saw in Angola (1929) was that of the headman of Ngalandi, who had eleven wives. In his compound were eleven huts, one for each of his wives and her children. Ovimbundu custom requires that a husband shall spend either four or

seven consecutive nights with each of his wives in turn; the four-night cycle being the more usual. Each wife has her own kitchen and the wives take turns in cooking the daily meals that must be sent to their husband in the council house, where all men gather at sunset. The husband of eleven wives was anxious to explain that he had eleven wives though only six were present; the remainder were at work in the fields. Before a photograph was taken, the chief sent his principal wife to dress in a colored blanket which was her mark of distinction. A husband considers that his social prestige depends on the number of his wives, and a Great Wife is glad to have other women to perform the work, since this advances her own social standing. Too little is known of the extent of polygyny and the sex ratios of Negroes to estimate what social injustice, if any, is inflicted by the appropriation of several women by a wealthy man. That friction is likely to occur in polygynous households is suggested by some of the terms used by the Ovimbundu. See "Kinship Terms," chap. 3 of this section.

The entire evidence relating to marriage contracts, whether polygynous or not, fails to indicate that woman has an inferior status, and probably J. H. Driberg (1932c, p. 405) is correct in saying, "It is doubtful, indeed, whether among Africans the question of high or low status ever arises as a distinction between men and women. It is a different status, that is all, corresponding with differences of physique, natural functions, and stamina, not an inferior status."

Two writers, G. Gordon Brown and A. McD. Bruce Hutt (1935, p. 213) are of the opinion that "the disappearance of polygyny will create a new problem, that of surplus women. To take an extreme possibility, if the whole tribe (Wa Hehe) became Christian there would be nearly 8,000 more females than males, of whom at least 4,000 would be of marriageable age. Since continence is not of likely occurrence among the Hehe, there would be a large number of irregular unions, taking the form of casual intrigues or, more probably, of concubinage. This would be a poor substitute for the present essential equality of all women."

#### DIVORCE

In agreement with the definite nature of the marriage contract, laws relating to divorce indicate that no easy repudiation of a spouse is possible in Negro society. Not only the individuals are concerned; the two families take an interest in divorce proceedings, which in some tribes require a public ratification. If divorce is inevitable,

decisions have to be reached respecting disposal of the dowry paid for the wife, return of the articles contributed by the wife to her home, and the custody of the children.

Among the Ovimbundu the main grounds on which a man can claim divorce are adultery of his wife, her want of industry as a cultivator, thieving from other gardens, physical weakness, frigidity, barrenness, nagging, incompetence in cooking, and inability to suckle her children. Yet divorce is not so frequent as might be supposed from the number of causes that justify such procedure.

Ngonga, my informant, pointed out that adultery is often condoned, provided the seducer pays a fine, and this procedure is common as a settlement of threatened divorce in Negro society. The Ovimbundu, like many other Bantu tribes, do not readily condone the divorce of a barren woman; in all probability the husband will marry another woman, but his first wife retains her position. With regard to frigidity, Ngonga said, "The husband is so angry that he may go out hunting for a long time. He may tie the hands of the resisting wife, but if she is a good cook another wife is taken and no divorce from the frigid wife is claimed." My informant said that it is usual for a dissatisfied husband to complain to the parents of his wife or to some old people who remonstrate with her. Some kind of adjustment is always attempted. According to Ovimbundu custom the difficulty of barrenness may be overcome by allowing a wife to have sexual relations with a man other than her husband, but the husband claims any offspring of the liaison. J. H. Weeks (1914, p. 146) speaks of the same custom among the Bakongo, and evidence could be adduced to show that barrenness of a wife may be compensated for in this way among many Negro tribes.

If an Ovimbundu has fully decided to divorce his wife, he must inform his parents and those of his wife of his intention. There is a meeting of husband and wife, their parents, and the village headman (*sekulu*), in order that a public rite of repudiation may be performed. The husband receives from his father-in-law a pig and a roll of tobacco, then he places leaves and palm oil on his wife's back, and slaps her, while saying, "It is finished." A divorced wife takes to her parents' home all children under three years of age, and these belong permanently to her kindred. The parents of the divorced woman try to secure another husband for her, but the dowry required from the new husband is not so valuable as the dowry demanded for a first marriage.

A woman of the Ovimbundu can institute divorce proceedings if her husband is impotent, or if he is thought to be sterile. In case of alleged sterility he may marry another girl to test his competence. A woman may divorce her husband if he ill-treats her, fails to provide cloth, palm oil, and ornaments, or if he does not give her an extra supply of cloth in which to fold her baby on her back.

The parents of a woman who desires divorce try to mediate, saying, "Go and try again." They do this, so Ngonga said, because they do not wish to have their daughter returned to them. In order to instigate divorce proceedings, a wife returns to her parents and refuses to live with her husband. A woman who divorces her husband is entitled to take with her the articles she provided for the home, but her husband will beat her if she removes the articles before the divorce is ratified. The dowry paid by the divorced husband to his wife's parents must be returned to him if his wife divorces him. The public rite of repudiation is performed in the same way as for divorce of a wife by her husband. If a woman who has divorced her husband marries again, the dowry provided by the new husband must be paid to the divorced husband and not to the parents of the divorced woman. The arrangements of the Ovimbundu to some extent favor the male when divorce is sought, yet women have definite rights.

The facts given for the Ovimbundu are representative of the rights and procedure in many Bantu tribes, and the total body of evidence indicates that breach of a marriage contract is a serious matter, which is not undertaken without mediation; and to make the abrogation valid, compliance has to be made with laws regulating the disposal of children and return of the dowry. Laws affecting these adjustments vary from tribe to tribe in some measure, but the binding nature of the marriage contract, and the absence of facile and utterly capricious divorce, can be regarded as fundamental principles in Negro life.

The infrequency of divorce and the methods of avoiding a final rupture are described by H. A. Stayt for the Bavenda (1931a, p. 152), and the data are typical of Bantu procedure. He mentions compensation for adultery, without divorce of the delinquent wife, and calls attention to substitution of a woman in place of a barren wife. "There is no obligation on the part of the wife's family to provide another woman, but they generally do so to maintain friendly relations between the two families. Divorce is unusual. A man cannot return his wife to her parents and receive compensation unless she

has had several abortions, committed incest, become an habitual adulteress or thief, or has been designated a witch."

Examination of evidence relating to divorce among several typical tribes of western Negroes shows correspondence of procedure with that which has been given for some Bantu tribes. In Ashanti a male may claim divorce because of barrenness of his wife, her adultery, drunkenness, a quarrelsome nature, interference on the part of his mother-in-law, and the practice of witchcraft by his wife. A man may secure divorce if he has inadvertently married into his own *ntoro* or *abusa*. These terms designate the male and female elements present in conception, and the words are used to describe certain prohibited degrees of relationship within which a marriage is regarded as incestuous. A woman may demand divorce on account of the impotence of her husband; his refusal to clothe, house, and feed her properly; or his absence for three years. If the woman is a Great Wife, she may claim divorce if her husband marries another woman without first obtaining her consent. Acquiescence of the Great Wife to a subsequent marriage is a fairly common requirement in Negro tribes (R. S. Rattray, 1927a, p. 98).

The public repudiation of a divorced wife in Ashanti is similar to the rite described for the Ovimbundu. The Ashanti husband sprinkles white powder on the woman's shoulders while saying, "I have ceased to cohabit with you." Laws regulating return of the dowry are in accordance with the types of marriage contracted by payment of *aseda*; *'tiri nsa*; or *aseda*, together with *'tiri nsa*; as previously described.

Most of the accounts of adultery as a cause for divorce state that in former days an aggrieved husband had the right to kill his wife's seducer, but compensation was sometimes accepted; at the present time compensation is the general method of settlement. Adjustment rather than divorce is a conspicuous feature of the data relating to this subject. L. Tauxier states that a husband who has committed adultery has to compensate his wife with presents, and if she receives these he is allowed to continue his relations with his mistress. Among the Angi the children of divorced parents are divided so that males remain with their father, while females accompany their mother to her own kindred. The father remains responsible for the support of all his children. Divorce must be ratified by the families of both husband and wife (L. Tauxier, 1932, p. 51).

Among the Kpelle, according to D. Westermann (1921, p. 62), a man may obtain divorce because of the adultery, stubbornness,



peevishness, laziness, or barrenness of his wife. He is also entitled to divorce if she leaves home and refuses to return. A woman may claim divorce on account of harsh treatment from her husband, his impotence, or his failure to fulfil the general obligations of a husband. The general requirements are, by virtue of their elasticity, almost as favorable for a woman as for a man. If the male is the offender, all his children accompany their mother to her kindred; but, on the contrary, if he divorces his wife his children remain with him. The parents of a divorced woman return the dowry or give another female in lieu of their divorced daughter.

Among tribes of the Jukun, as C. K. Meek (1931a, p. 388) shows, those who practice a matrilocal form of marriage are conscious of its advantages in giving security of married status to women. A man can obtain divorce more easily among the patrilocal tribes. R. S. Rattray (1923) has called attention to the security of Ashanti women from injustice since matriarchal conditions, involving the reckoning of descent, inheritance, and succession in the female line, prevail.

Owing to the bilateral character of the Jukun social system a husband who divorces his wife is liable to lose possession of all his children, since they may accompany their mother to her kindred. Consequently, a husband exercises the utmost patience with his adulterous wife, giving warnings and admonitions. A husband who divorced his wife would be within his rights to reclaim at least a part of the dowry he paid, but it is not likely that he would do so if the children were left with him as compensation for his wife's adultery. A wife who has grounds for divorce from her husband is slow to exercise her right, but if divorce cannot be avoided she returns either to her father or to her maternal uncle. In such an instance the husband would not reclaim his premarital expenses (Meek, 1931a, p. 388).

These instances of divorce procedure clearly indicate that the marital status of women is high among some western Negro tribes, where traits of a matriarchal system prevail. The position of women in various types of matriarchal and patriarchal Negro society has been worked out in detail by S. R. Steinmetz (1903), who shows the advantages that women enjoy where the conditions are matriarchal.

The grounds for divorce among the Lango, a Nilotic Negro tribe described by J. H. Driberg (1923, pp. 160, 164; 1932c, p. 417), are similar to those previously considered. A man may divorce a woman for repeated adultery, or because of her sterility, but if the latter reason is the cause for dissatisfaction divorce may not ensue,

since the parents of the sterile woman may give a sister of the first wife, who will retain her position as the Great Wife. If this arrangement is not made, and the barren wife is divorced, the husband is entitled to a return of the dowry he paid. A woman can claim divorce for ill treatment or neglect, or she may obtain a divorce because her husband is unable to support her. If the wife who has obtained a divorce returns to her kindred, the dowry paid by her husband is refunded to him.

#### OTHER SEXUAL RELATIONS

The chief sexual relations not yet considered are wife-lending, prostitution, and homosexuality. J. H. Driberg (1932c, p. 417) describes the lending of wives to members of the husband's age group as a common feature of the Nilo-Hamitic culture, in which this custom is a necessary form of hospitality.

J. Roscoe (1923a, p. 123; 1921, p. 203) states that the Banyankole have a custom of wife-lending, and the degree of liberty allowed to a visitor depends on his relationship with the husband. A visitor may sleep in the bed with a husband and wife who are his hosts, but the details of the intimacy are unknown. If the visitor is the husband's father, the husband leaves his bed entirely to his parent during the visit. The dispossessed husband stays with a married neighbor, whose bed he shares. This form of hospitality is not allowed to transgress against laws that prohibit sexual intercourse between certain relatives. Should the wife of the host happen to be the guest's own sister, his mother's sister, or his mother's sister's daughter, the guest must sleep alone. Roscoe says of the Banyankole, "A married woman is expected to entertain any guest of her husband and to invite him to her bed. This is a mark of hospitality shown by all married men to their visitors."

The prevalence of the custom of wife-lending among Negroes, together with the social and psychological aspects of the institution, have not yet been fully investigated, but V. Brelsford (1933, pp. 433-439) has shown the need for careful discrimination between customs that may at first glance appear similar. In the *kusena* custom a wife is lent as a matter of courtesy to a friend, but she does not leave her husband's hut. In the *lubambo* compact the husband receives cattle from his wife's lover, in whose hut the wife stays at intervals and for several days at a time.

The study of prostitution presents difficulties, partly because of the need of a clear definition of the practice, and partly on account of the misapprehensions of observers, who have been prone to

confuse sexual license, for example wife-lending and the intimacy of the betrothed, with prostitution. If prostitution can be correctly defined as the habitual practice of promiscuous sexual intercourse on a commercial basis, then some definite statements can be made respecting the prevalence of prostitution today, but we are still in doubt with regard to the prevalence of genuine prostitution before the arrival of Europeans.

W. Bosman (trans. 1907, p. 212) writing of Axim and other places on the Gold Coast about the year 1700, describes an indisputable system of prostitution. But at this period Europeans had been trading on the Gold Coast for two centuries, and commercialized prostitution may have arisen in response to a European demand. Bosman writes, "Negroes of the Gold Coast make no scruple of driving a public trade with their wives' bodies. Some women never marry and are initiated into prostitution. The money they get is brought to their masters, who return to them enough to keep them in clothes and necessaries. A prostitute can refuse no man the use of her body though he offer never so small a sum."

According to M. Delafosse (1912, vol. 3, p. 91) prostitution is not widely practiced in the French Sudan, yet the custom is known in some towns and villages. Professional prostitutes are generally widows or divorced women, and though they are regarded with some contempt by other women no general public reprobation is evident; neither are prostitutes segregated in a special quarter. Among some tribes inhabiting the region about the bend of the Niger, young unmarried girls act as prostitutes without making a regular trade of their amours. Mothers sometimes act as procurers and take part of the profits. Some husbands in the Dan (Mêbé) tribe of the Ivory Coast encourage their wives to practice prostitution for profit. A sexual freedom that might be called fornication or adultery is termed *prostitution occasionnelle* by M. Delafosse. He states that some women, who may be married or not, yield themselves but without remuneration.

In the Cross River region of Nigeria there are generally some prostitutes living in towns near government stations, also in riverine towns that are frequented by traders. The prostitutes are usually women who have deserted their husbands to grow rich on the earnings of canoe boys, laborers, and policemen. C. Partridge (1905, p. 258) is speaking of southeast Nigeria, but what he says is of wide application in Nigeria. I found during a long journey that my Hausa servants had no difficulty in making contact with girls almost

immediately, wherever we happened to be. The couples slept together, but whether the girls were habitual prostitutes I cannot say. The boys always paid with either money or presents.

R. C. Thurnwald (1935, p. 176) has come to the conclusion that "prostitution is a source of income not only in the towns but also in the country. The pagan tradition, according to investigations, reports, and replies to the questionnaire, does not show any traces of prostitution. In fact, conditions were so different that in the old social order there was no place for it. One is tempted to consent to the charge of the Africans that prostitution was introduced by Europeans as a consequence of the lack of white women in the beginning of European settling, and also as a corollary of monogamy. Perhaps prostitution was existent in the Arab times to a certain minor extent, although polygyny and slavery were blurring its features. No doubt a considerable amount of it must be partially assigned to the hiring of girls (for 40 shillings a month) by European bachelors, partially to their location in certain town houses, for the use of the indigenous population, which in these centers is mostly unmarried."

In the British Cameroons colonies of prostitutes are segregated in towns having a mixed population. For this condition F. W. H. Migeod (1925, p. 210) blames love of luxury and laziness; he adds that easy divorce under Mohammedan laws is partially responsible for the situation. This is, however, an instance of prostitution under modern conditions, and reliable evidence indicating that prostitution was an aboriginal Negro institution is insufficient to warrant any conclusion.

A still more difficult problem to investigate is that of homosexuality, for which the evidence is scanty in relation to the area under consideration. Ngonga said that among the Ovimbundu "there are men who want men and women who want women. The people think this very bad." Ngonga spoke of a young man who insisted on wearing the clothes of a woman so that he could work at the rocks where corn is pounded. "His father and brothers beat him, but he continued to dress as a woman." Ngonga said that he had seen a medicine-man dress as a woman, and that he had heard of a woman making an artificial penis for use with another woman.

In the French Sudan sodomy, lesbianism, and bestiality are excessively rare. Public opinion views these practices with ridicule but not with a desire to punish. The general attitude toward these irregularities is one of humorous contempt (M. Delafosse, 1912, vol. 3, p. 92).

The evidence of J. H. Weeks (1909, pp. 448-449) for the Bangala indicates that habits of solitary and mutual masturbation exist among men but probably not among women. "Sodomy between two men is common, and is regarded with little or no shame. It generally takes place when men are visiting strange towns or during the time they are fishing at camps away from their women. If a man committed sodomy with a woman he was at one time liable to a death penalty, but now he is heavily fined. Sodomy with a woman is regarded not simply as a family offence, but as an insult to the community, hence the elders of the village are responsible for judging and punishing the man." Weeks gives some additional data relating to sexual irregularities, including bestiality.

In former times among the Azande some of the more powerful chiefs named Vungara, who were members of the ruling clan, practiced homosexuality to a slight degree because of fear of venereal disease. A chief who was warned by a medicine-man that he might suffer from venereal disease if he had relations with certain of his wives would procure a boy whom he married by payment of spears (P. M. Larken, 1926, p. 24).

Dahomean boys indulge in sex play with each other after their withdrawal from the society of girls at the age of puberty, but Dahomeans have a distaste for such behavior if it is continued after the age at which normal sexual relations should begin. "Yet there are men and women who either never marry or who, though married, have their most valid sex experiences with members of their own sex. This is kept secret, for if word of it got about, such a person would be the butt of many sly remarks and, what is more dreaded, deriding songs." (M. J. Herskovits, 1932a, p. 284.)

There is enough evidence to indicate that sexual practices of an irregular kind are fairly common, but the data are not sufficient for a detailed examination of the incidence of the various irregularities among different tribes; neither are the available facts adequate for analysis of the causes involved in abnormal sexual behavior.

The foregoing evidence is consistent in showing that marriage is generally based on freedom of choice, and that the union is legalized in such a way as to make the contract binding. The data reviewed explain the formation of a stable family group, further details of which can be considered by examining facts relating to pregnancy, the naming of children, their education, and initiation into the tribe.

The following additional references are important in the study of marriage, divorce, and the social status of women. H. P. Braatvedt

(1927), V. Brelsford (1933), E. F. Brown (1935), G. G. Brown (1932), F. Bryk (1928), K. H. Crosby (1937), J. W. Crowfoot (1922), A. T. and G. M. Culwick (1934-35), N. de Cleene (1937), J. H. Driberg (1932a and b), E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1929a), A. Ffoulkes (1908), M. Kohler (1934), P. von Majerus (1911), L. W. G. Malcolm (1923b, 1924), B. Malinowski (1927), T. McVicar (1934-35), F. Ronnefelt (1936), P. P. Schumacher (1910), H. Thurnwald (1935), E. Torday (1929b), J. Vendeix (1935), A. Werner (1928b), H. Wieschhoff (1937b).

## II. EDUCATION OF CHILDREN

### PREGNANCY AND INFANCY

#### INTRODUCTION

The importance of this subject has been briefly expressed by T. J. A. Yates (1932, No. 159) who says, "The family founded by marriage is not really established till the birth of the first child. Married status among the Bantu has very little meaning apart from parenthood." In support of this view Yates gives evidence from the Bavenda tribe in which a bride crawls in the yard of her husband's home, kneels before she enters the hut, and performs other acts of obeisance until her first child is born. The Wafungu tribe of Northern Rhodesia recognize four social ranks that are dependent on possession of children. Young men are not qualified to sit in the council house before they are parents. Teknonymy, that is, change of name of the parents at the birth of a child, which is a common Bantu practice, is mentioned as further evidence of the social importance of parenthood. In some tribes avoidance between parents-in-law and children-in-law is not so strictly enforced after the birth of the first child.

#### BANTU BELIEFS: CONCEPTION, PREGNANCY, AND DELIVERY

In this chapter the chief data to consider are those relating to conception, reincarnation of ancestors, the period of gestation, abortion, parturition and its ritual—for example, disposal of the placenta and the umbilical cord. The destruction of deformed children and ceremonial ablutions for parents are also points of importance. The attitude toward twins and the ritual of naming have to be considered, while facts pertaining to teething, lactation, weaning, and early deformations such as extraction of teeth and scarification should be included. Demography, the attitude toward illegitimate children, and adoption of children, are likewise logically connected with a study of the family. So far as the southern Bantu are concerned most of these subjects have been briefly considered by L. Walk (1928, pp. 38-109), whose article is appropriate as an introduction to this subject.

In order to obtain an impression of the general attitudes and principles of Negroes toward procreation and early education, examples will be chosen from several Bantu and Sudanic tribes. These particular instances are selected as truly representative of the whole, though many local variations occur.

The emphasis placed by Negro tribes on the religious and magical aspects of pregnancy and childbirth might leave the impression that the physiological facts of procreation are not understood, but despite the general prevalence of spiritual beliefs and ritual in connection with childbirth the parts played by male and female are known. The Ovimbundu say that a man puts something into a woman, and the male substance grows in her. This is probably common knowledge in Negro tribes, but the importance of sexual intercourse and conception is completely eclipsed by a ritual procedure. The nature of the rites is well exemplified by data from the Akamba, who are northeastern Bantu Negroes. A medicine-man who uses his magic to induce conception rarely deals in any other form of treatment. He is a skilled specialist, and as such is held in high esteem. His treatment consists of giving a woman an amulet to wear over her womb, and smearing her navel and loins with a concoction. But the importance of taboo is shown by the statement, that no medicine-man can cure sterility if the newly married couple had their first sexual intercourse when the woman was menstruating (G. Beresford-Stooke, 1928, No. 129).

Women of the Ovimbundu regard cowrie shells as symbols of fertility, and for this reason a cord bearing one or more of these shells is worn about the neck. The charm is most effective if it was used by the wearer's mother or grandmother. Painting the face during pregnancy is a rite which is usually carried out by a medicine-woman to ensure normal development of the fetus. Undoubtedly magic is regarded as a necessary aid to physiological processes of reproduction, which are fairly well understood.

Taboos are necessary to ensure the birth of normal offspring. As soon as a woman discovers that she is pregnant she makes and drinks an infusion prepared from bark fiber to assure removal of the afterbirth. Eating the flesh of a hare during pregnancy is thought to give the baby a split lip. Flesh of the owl as part of the diet will give a child abnormally large eyes. During gestation a woman must not sit on a mortar, a pestle, or a piece of rock, for if she does so her delivery will be unduly prolonged. If a woman carries a burden in her cloth, the baby will be born with an abnormally long head. During pregnancy a woman mixes a prickly plant with her husband's food in order to make him faithful to her. This custom may have some connection with the fact that before the decline of native prohibitions a husband was not allowed to have relations with his wife until the baby had been weaned. The rule is a usual one



in Negro society, but the extent to which a monogamous man remained continent during the time of gestation and lactation is unknown. Children are suckled for two or even three years, and this period, combined with the nine months of gestation, demands a long abstention.

J. H. Weeks (1914, p. 107) states that, despite a popular idea alleging the strong sexual desires of Negroes, they are capable of restraints that Europeans would not tolerate. During her pregnancy and the lactation of her child a woman treats men as utterly non-existent.

The taboos observed during pregnancy by the Ovimbundu are typical instances of the Negro attitude toward gestation, which is regarded as a period in which actions of the mother may adversely affect the unborn child. In some tribes prohibitions affect the father of the child, and during delivery he may have to observe certain precautions. A difficult delivery is often attributed to an illicit love affair, and instances of a woman being asked to disclose the name of her lover in order to make parturition easier are numerous.

A genuine custom of *couvade*, in which a father goes to bed and acts as if he were the bearer of the child, appears to be rare in Africa, but an instance is given by C. G. and B. Z. Seligman (1932, p. 107). A wide geographical survey of the subject has been made by W. R. Dawson (1929).

The Ovimbundu have confidence in ritual for affecting the sex of a fetus. A woman who has borne only girls may secure male births, provided she can find a woman who has given birth to boys only. To reverse the sexes the women exchange their belts, which are plaited fiber girdles worn close to their bodies in order to support short skirts. Another method of changing a succession of male or female births is the arrangement of a ceremonial exchange of food between the mother of boys and the mother of girls. The food is passed from one woman to the other through a hole in the wall of a hut. Sometimes a woman who has borne only boys gives to the bearer of girls an arrow, a bow, a knife, and an axe, while she receives in exchange from the mother of girls a pounding pestle, a broom, a tray, and a basket. There is in these exchanges an obvious sex symbolism and an implied belief in the efficacy of sympathetic magic.

Normally, parturition takes place at home with two or more women in attendance, but delivery while at work in the fields causes no great inconvenience. Birth is assisted by pressure and massage, aided by magical means, such as untying knots from string and

opening lids of boxes if the labor is slow. These are general conditions and observances, but local customs vary. Generally, there is ceremonial treatment of the umbilical cord and placenta, which have to be buried, though the cord is preserved, according to some tribal usages. An Ocimbundu midwife cuts the umbilical cord of a girl with a hoe to ensure success in field work, but the cord of a boy is cut with an arrow to give prowess in hunting. The Ovimbundu say that if the father were present at the confinement his child would be ashamed to be born, therefore the father is excluded.

Washing, massage, and smearing with palm-oil are usual treatments for a newly born Negro child. The Ovimbundu follow a common practice when they give the infant a sip of beer and tie a cord about its waist. Destruction of deformed children is usual, but a child who is allowed to survive for twenty-four hours is unlikely to be killed. This Umbundu practice toward abnormal children is the common procedure. The Ovimbundu protect the fontanelle of a newly born child by covering the place with mucilage that hardens.

I was unable to discover that the Ovimbundu believe in the reincarnation of ancestors in infants, and no ceremony was found for discovering the identity of a newly born child. Yet in this respect the Ovimbundu are exceptional, and in view of the general Negro belief in a reincarnation of ancestors, it is probable that former Umbundu customs have fallen into desuetude. The essence of Negro religion is a belief in a parallelism of the spiritual and secular worlds. Spirits of the dead carry on their activities much as they did on earth. The dead visit their living descendants, affect their welfare, and may be reincarnated in their own kindred.

#### BANTU ABORTION AND INFANTICIDE

In common with a majority of Negro tribes the Ovimbundu know how to produce abortion by use of drugs; these they call "medicine for taking away the belly." The literature shows that mechanical means of securing abortion by pressure are sometimes used by Negroes, but the employment of potions is more common. The general attitude toward abortion is one of reprobation. Birth of a child to an unmarried girl is commonly censured by Negroes, although their customs often condone sexual laxity. Therefore, abortion is the resort of those who wish to avoid having illegitimate children. Instance can be found to show that a woman may abort in order to avoid bearing a child to a man she dislikes, and another

cause for abortion is the infidelity of young wives to an elderly husband who does not cohabit with them. Instances of the infanticide of illegitimate children are numerous, but examples of the survival of illegitimate children are also common, and in the latter case the children belong to their mother's kindred as a rule. Generally speaking, the illegitimate child of an adulterous union is the property of the legal husband. Death of a woman during pregnancy or delivery generally demands special funeral rites and ritual to avert evil consequences. At Ngalandi in east-central Angola I was informed that the rite of driving a stake through the abdomen of a pregnant woman after her corpse had been laid in the grave had been recently observed. Usually, the child of a mother who has no milk is not allowed to die but is suckled by another woman. This Umbundu custom is of common occurrence among other Negroes.

#### BANTU MULTIPLE BIRTHS

Information relating to the birth and treatment of triplets is scanty, but adequate data exist for estimating the attitudes of Negro tribes toward twin births. With regard to triplets, the Ovimbundu say that they are welcome. At the age of five years a male of the triplets, if there happens to be one, is presented to the king, to remain in the royal household as a son who, along with sons of the king's wives, has opportunities for inheritance and succession. Though twins are welcome, the Ovimbundu, in conformity with general Negro procedure, demand special observances. Such ritual of purification and protection is never absent even though the twins are both allowed to live, and no reprobation attaches to the mother. In all Negro tribes twins are regarded as abnormal, and their birth demands ritual to safeguard the children, their parents, and the community.

Among the Ovimbundu an *ocimbanda* (medicine-man) carries out rites for purifying a mother of twins, and the afterbirth is placed in two pots which are buried outside the village. A mother of twins receives from the *ocimbanda* a horn which she hangs round her neck; this she has to blow when crossing a river, when meeting a group of people, or if she sees a hawk overhead. People laugh at a mother of twins, and in jest call her a pig or a bitch because she has had a litter. This banter she takes in good part and replies jokingly. A mother of twins or triplets carries a rattle which she shakes instead of giving the ordinary greetings. Should a twin die, a wooden figurine is made to take the place of the dead child. This figure is held to the breast, or the other infant might die through loneliness. If the

surviving twin succumbs, the wooden figurine is buried with it. The making of a figurine of this kind to replace a dead twin is a common Negro custom.

The regard of the Ovimbundu for twins is not, however, a true indication of the general Negro attitude. African customs have to be modified under European administration, but in former days a twin birth often led to execution of the twins and the mother also. In some tribes only the twins were killed, or perhaps one of them was allowed to survive. Customs varied locally.

J. H. Weeks (1914, p. 116) states that the Bakongo dislike twins because of the extra trouble they give; therefore, one of them may be starved to death and replaced by the wooden figurine previously mentioned. In case of infanticide or natural death, twins are buried at crossroads. This is a form of interment given to suicides and people who have been killed by lightning, for such persons are said to have died dishonorably.

A survey of the evidence relating to treatment of twins among the south African Bantu shows the general attitude to be one of hostility and fear. S. S. Dornan (1932, pp. 690-750) states that most Bantu tribes regard the birth of twins as demoniacal, unnatural, monstrous, and portentous of evil to the family and the clan. Calamity can be avoided only by death of the infants. A wide survey of Bantu and non-Bantu tribes south of the Zambezi indicates that only a small minority of the tribes described regard the birth of twins as fortunate for the family, but in some tribes, namely, the Zulu and the Herero, a difference of opinion exists with regard to the malign influence of a twin birth.

In the Ovambo tribe, twins were immediately killed by suffocation, and their mother had to submit to an elaborate ceremony of cleansing. The Makaranga and the Bavenda regard twins as a presage of evil for the village in which they were born. Twins of the Makaranga tribe were killed at once by the midwife, and the parents had to be purified. Twins were thought to have an adverse effect on the quantity of rainfall. Among the Baronga, Bapedi, and Basuto Bechuana, twins were put to death, and their mother was purified by a medicine-man. Dornan points out that among Bushman tribes infanticide of twins might sometimes be due to economic causes. The Bushmen are wandering hunters who at certain times of the year live on the margin of subsistence. Reasons for infanticide of twins among the southern Bantu are magical and psychological, not economic. A woman of the Fingoes who gave birth to twins

was regarded as having had dealings with spirits, and as being reprobate. If she gave birth to twins at her first confinement, she and her children were at once killed. If the confinement were not her first, one twin was killed, and the mother together with her surviving child was purified ceremonially (S. S. Dornan, 1932).

In the Lamba tribe, according to C. M. Doke (1931c, p. 133) a twin birth is regarded as normal if the infants are of the same sex. But birth of twins of opposite sexes is a sign of ill luck, and the father has to visit a medicine-man who gives him a concoction to smear over himself, his wife, and the twins.

#### BANTU NAMING AND AGE RECKONING

In connection with the naming of children, several important beliefs and customs occur. Several of the usages commonly found among Bantu tribes can be illustrated by reference to procedure among the Ovimbundu. The custom of teknonymy prevails, and in accordance with this practice parents change their names when their first child is born. In a certain family, the name given to a first child, a girl, was Vitundo. The name of the father, who had hitherto been called Cingandu, was changed to Savitundo, meaning "the father of Vitundo." At the same time the mother's name, Visolela, was changed to Navitundo, meaning "mother of Vitundo." If the first child dies the parents revert to their original names, but make the same kind of change if a second child is born.

A child who is born after twins is called Kasinda, "to push," and the twins themselves are called Hosi and Njamba, the Lion and the Elephant. The Ovimbundu have no secret names, but in this they are somewhat exceptional. Names of the dead are never mentioned, since this might call up spirits of the dead who are feared; taboo of names of the dead is usual in Negro society. Ovimbundu children may change their names at the age of about sixteen years and often do so if the names are distasteful to them. A youth named Katito, meaning "Little," changed his name to Mukayita, the meaning of which is unknown, though presumably the new name conveyed some pleasant idea. Change of name during sickness is thought to aid recovery, possibly because of the idea that malignant spirits who are causing the illness may be deceived. An Ocimbundu now named Katahali suffered sickness and misfortune, so he abandoned his former name of Kopiongo. His present name means "he who has seen trouble." A sick child is thought to benefit by receiving a new name of an unpleasant kind, for example *ongulu*, meaning "a pig."

Names sometimes give an indication of descent. The full name of my interpreter was Ngonga Kalei Liahuka. Ngonga means "eagle," Kalei, "one who works for the king," and Liahuka is the surname of Ngonga's father. A father chooses the names of his three first children, whether boys or girls, and a mother selects the name of the fourth child, whether male or female. A first son usually receives the name of his paternal grandfather, and a first daughter takes the name of her father's sister. R. Routil (1929, pp. 315-319) and H. Wieschhoff (1937a) give further information on naming.

Ages are not known with certainty after about five years, but up to this period reckoning is made by remembering the number of times that maize has been sown. *Ulima* is the period from one annual sowing to the next. The Ovimbundu, like many Negro tribes, can count up to high numbers for purposes of trade, but they do not apply their knowledge for keeping account of ages.

Many Negro tribes watch the process of teething with anxiety, since an appearance of the incisor teeth of the upper jaw before those of the lower jaw is an augury of ill luck. J. Roscoe (1923b, p. 258) states that for the Bakitara an unusual event of this kind implies that offence has been given to gods or to ancestral spirits. The offending teeth are extracted, and a medicine-man is asked to offer sacrifice to the child's ancestors. "Only shame and disgrace attach to such a child, and whatever rank it might attain, it could never enter the presence of the king."

#### FURTHER EXAMPLES OF BANTU CUSTOMS

The background of Negro belief and ritual relating to pregnancy and childbirth can be further illustrated from H. A. Junod's Bathonga (1912, vol. 1, pp. 35-54; 183-190). The Bathonga have the idea that children are given by the gods; consequently a sacrifice to the gods is thought to be necessary if a woman is sterile, but in addition to the religious rite native doctors have many drugs to remedy barrenness.

Sterility of a wife may be a cause for divorce, but usually the parents of the barren wife provide a younger girl as a second wife. In allowing coition during pregnancy the Bathonga depart from the general Negro rule; in fact, they say that sexual intercourse is favorable to the growth of the fetus. Prohibitions during pregnancy are of the general type, and the acts tabooed are those which are thought capable of injuring the unborn child. Two of the clans prohibit pork as food for girls because pigs move their heads sideways when rooting

for food, and it is thought that the infant would make delivery difficult by moving its head in this way. The Bathonga observe the usual taboo against menstruating wives. A wife in this condition must keep to the left half of the hut, and may not cross the middle line. She sleeps on her own mat and wears special clothing. When she cooks mealies, the food should not be touched by her hands. The Ovimbundu do not allow a menstruating wife to cook or to take the evening meal to her husband at the men's house.

The Bathonga hold the common belief that a protracted and difficult birth proves that the child is not legitimate. In a case of this kind the husband is called, and a test of the child's legitimacy is made by giving the woman some of her husband's semen to drink in water. The saying is that if the child is legitimate he will "feel his father," and will be willing to be born. Should delivery still be slow, adultery is assumed, and the midwife urges the woman to give the name of her lover. "If a woman dies during pregnancy she must be cut open to determine the sex of the child. This must be done in the grave before the earth is filled in. The woman might become a 'god of bitterness' if this precaution were not observed."

For naming a child several methods are available, one of which is of particular interest because of its association with a belief in reincarnation. The name of an ancestor is suggested by the medicine-man, who then throws the bones, and, if necessary, other ancestral names are suggested until a particular arrangement of the bones shows that the correct name has been chosen (H. Wieschhoff, 1937).

If a child cuts its upper teeth first, the omen is bad. Before a string is tied round the child's waist, the infant is hardly considered as a human being, but after a string smeared with the father's semen has been tied in this way the child is a member of its kindred. Presentation of a child to the first new moon after the birth is an act which is observed by the Baganda (Roscoe, 1911, p. 58), the Bavenda (Stayt, 1931a, p. 89), and the Bathonga (H. A. Junod, 1910, p. 130), but the general distribution of the custom has not yet been worked out in detail.

The attitude of the Bathonga toward twins is peculiar, for though the infants are disliked they are esteemed and feared. A twin birth is regarded as a defilement which has to be removed by special rites, and in former times one of twins was strangled or was left to die of starvation. A medicine-man who removed the defilement was highly respected because only he knew what drinking potion to give to the father and mother of twins. At the present time infanticide



is not practiced, but a mother of twins has to leave the village at once to live in a hut apart from other dwellings. Twins are not presented to the moon, and they are regarded as bad characters. When the twins begin to crawl and approach other huts, people throw cinders at them. The power that causes death by lightning also determines the birth of twins; therefore, the infants are called "Children of Heaven," and appeal is made to them for protection during a thunderstorm.

Valenge women of the southeastern Bantu are despised and sometimes divorced if they are barren. A sterile woman visits a medicine-man in charge of divining bones, or she may send her father or mother to this practitioner, who declares that some act of sacrifice is lacking. The ancestral spirits are offended, and an offering must be made to them before the curse of sterility can be removed. E. D. Earthy (1933, p. 84) mentions that lactation lasts two or three years. When weaning a child the mother rubs her breasts with a species of *Capsicum*. Pounded leaves from a "tree of forgetfulness" are mixed with chicken and given to the child as food. The child is often sent away for a while. "If a family has adopted a child it becomes of the sib to which the family belongs, and its marriage is arranged accordingly. The marriage prohibitions are the same as for a real child of the family, with the added prohibition that it may not marry into the sib from whence it came. The adopted child is given a medicine in order that it may forget everything about its former life." Adoption of children is a fairly common practice among Negroes.

#### WEST AFRICAN (SUDANIC NEGRO) BELIEFS

Negroes of west Africa hold beliefs and observe practices that are in harmony with those recorded for Bantu Negroes. R. S. Rattray (1932a, vol. 2, p. 332) calls attention to the wearing of girdle leaves by women, not only as a mark of age and social distinction, according to the kind of leaves and the position in which they are fixed, but as a sign of motherhood. "Women who have not yet borne any children, if they wear leaves at all, will do so only at the back, but after childbirth at back and front."

The evidence given by R. S. Rattray (1923, pp. 36, 77, 85, 106) for Ashanti emphasizes the belief in reincarnation of an ancestor in the newly born child, and the dependence of conception and safe delivery on divine intervention are illustrated by the instances given. In the sixth month of pregnancy a fowl provided by the wife is sacrificed by her husband, who makes a prayer to his *ntoro* gods, saying, "Allow this infant to come forth peacefully." The husband



and wife, after smearing themselves with white clay have intercourse, and both believe that violation of certain prohibitions will result in an abortion.

Adultery, eating sweets, quarreling, and looking at deformities are all regarded as causes of mishap to the fetus. Difficult delivery is said to result from adultery, and if the usual magical remedies fail the name of the seducer is asked. Deformed children are destroyed at birth, and even slight malformations such as supernumerary toes or excess of nipples (polymastia) is sufficient cause for infanticide. A woman should not be buried with a child in her womb, for if this were done the whole nation would be adversely affected. A pregnant woman cannot be executed, but in former days both the woman and her child were killed after delivery.

If delivery proceeds normally the four elderly women who act as midwives shout, "Hail, so-and-so," and at the same time they name the child after the day on which it was born, but other names are given later in life. After the umbilical cord has been cut on a piece of wood, one of the women moistens her finger with rum and rubs the infant's throat, then all say, "So-and-so has arrived, let him [or her] sit down with us."

When an Ashanti child is born a ghost mother is thought to mourn her child in the spirit world, and if the infant dies within eight days death is said to be due to the fact that the ghost mother recalled her child, which had been temporarily loaned while she went on a journey. A male child is named by the paternal grandfather, who takes the infant on his knee, spits in the child's mouth and says, "My child [name] has begotten a child. I call him after myself, naming him——." Spitting to confer a blessing is by no means unusual, especially among the Masai and other Half-Hamites. The custom is mentioned by A. C. Hollis (1905, pp. 115, 315). Among the Lango, a Nilotic tribe of Uganda, spitting is an important part of ritual (Driberg, 1923, pp. 162, 249, 252).

In Ashanti, twins were not killed, with the exception of those born in the royal family. In all families children are greatly desired, and a childless man is sometimes taunted with the sobriquet, *kote krawa* (wax penis). The third, sixth, and ninth children are the lucky ones; the fifth child is said to be susceptible to misfortune.

Purification rites and prohibitions connected with childbirth are mentioned by C. K. Meek (1931a, p. 362) who states that the Chamba, neighbors of the Jukun of east Nigeria, do not allow a mother to enter the kitchen during the week after delivery, and not

then unless all discharge has ceased. A rite exists for removing maternal impurity and dedicating the child to the gods. The spiritual identity of the child is discovered by a diviner, who is said to be a reincarnation of a dead relative of the father or the mother. The name of the reincarnated relative is not disclosed, and a temporary name is given to the infant. Deformed children are killed because they are thought to have been begotten by an evil spirit. The Jukun do not believe that twins are a result of adultery; the event is explained by saying that two dead ancestors wished to be born simultaneously. Sometimes a twin birth is said to be due to the fact that the pregnant mother walked between two people.

The Ibo of Nigeria provide an instance of the detestation of twins and the woman who bore them. "For a woman to imitate goats and dogs fills people with unspeakable disgust." Popular belief says that the twins have resulted from copulation with an evil spirit; therefore, the infants are thrust into a pot and buried in a lonely spot (G. T. Basden, 1921, p. 58). The complete antithesis of this attitude is found among the Lango, Nilotic Negroes, who regard birth of twins as a mark of divine favor (Driberg 1923, p. 139). Germann (1933, p. 86) states that among some tribes of north Liberia twins are welcome, and magical properties are ascribed to them. The father of one of the twins is thought to have been a ghost, but both infants are regarded as having magical qualities since nobody can say which of them was spiritually begotten.

Among the Edo-speaking people of Nigeria, prenatal customs vary locally. According to one local custom a woman washes a cowrie shell and ties it round her waist as soon as she finds herself pregnant; she also drinks a potion made by the medicine-man. The husband of a pregnant woman sacrifices a goat to his wife's father when the first child is born. From the fifth month of pregnancy a woman changes her style of hairdressing and makes yet another change in the eighth month. In one center, when the umbilical cord drops off, the father ties it to a kola or a coconut tree; this tree is the property of the child when it grows up. Usually the placenta is buried. Ceremonial washing of the mother, the child, and the house in which parturition took place are common procedures (N. W. Thomas, 1922, pp. 253-255).

The subject of naming has been considered by several ethnologists. A. Le Hérissé (1911, p. 235) states that a Dahomean has several names which are given to him at various stages of his life, but he has to abandon and forget former names when new ones are

conferred. Some of the principal names are those given immediately after birth; those conferred after consulting Fa or Fate; and names given to *féticheurs* after their training. Surnames constitute a fourth class. Importance is attached to names conferred by a king and to those given by wives to their husbands.

The chief kinds of personal names mentioned by C. Spiess (1918, pp. 104-159) are: (1) A name denoting the day of the week on which the child was born. (2) The name of the god who granted supplication for the child. (3) The death name, which assures rebirth of a child within the family. (4) The *anspielungsamen*, which refers to some incident or circumstance of birth. (5) The *trinknamen*; this is a sobriquet that is sometimes used ironically, the Ewe word for drink-name is derived from *aha* (palm wine) and *no* (to drink). (6) Names indicating the status of a person who has been freed from slavery. (7) Names given at puberty.

The most detailed record of the meaning of personal names is that given by L. W. G. Malcolm (1924, pp. 34-38) who has prepared a record of about two hundred names of boys and girls, with literal translations of the meanings. The translations of a few of these names are: "A lonely person," "One of a large family," "Born on a day of trouble," "Born on the market day," and "It is best to mind one's own business."

#### CONCLUSION AND READING

The beliefs and practices recorded here are representative of the fundamental ideas connected with pregnancy, birth, and early infancy. Many local variations occur, and considerable work remains to be done in observation and classification of type ideas, and in showing the relation of these to religion and magic.

Some advance has been made in compilation of data, and comparative study by Hambly (1926a), who gave a broad sociological treatment in "Origins of Education. . . ." D. Kidd (1906) produced a useful account of the training of Zulu children. A brief record of child welfare and education among the Wanguru is given by C. T. Dooley (1934). Evans-Pritchard (1936a) has a study of customs and beliefs relating to twins among the Nilotes, and Schapera (1927b) made a survey of the same subject among south African tribes. R. E. Ellison (1936) published an article dealing with marriage and child-birth among the Kanuri.

The literature is extensive, but we still lack an intimate physiological and psychological study within the home for a considerable period. Such observation would help to explain the social and

moral attitudes that are established in the main types of family. We shall see later the prevalence of maternal dominance or of paternal rule, or perhaps a blending of the two, but detailed observation of infantile adjustment is a psychological task of the future. Perhaps the closest approach to this type of study in Africa is to be found in A. I. Richards' "Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe," but for Melanesia the family studies of M. Mead are available. Dr. M. Mead's technique might with advantage be applied in Africa, preferably by women, for example, nurses who have occasion to make frequent visits to homes where they can make intimate contacts with children under five years of age.

#### HOME INFLUENCE, GAMES, DANCING, MUSIC

From the time when a child begins to crawl about the hut his education is continued informally by contact with other children and adults, until the time for formal initiation into the tribe. Very early in life, often within twenty-four hours, the tying of a waist-string, and somewhat later the giving of a name or names, definitely incorporates the infant with his kindred and gives him a social standing. The problem of education is concerned with events and conditions that bring an individual into harmony with the social pattern of his tribe, and this process of assimilation is effected by home influence, play, music, dancing, and often by formal instruction in the seclusion of the bush where initiation ceremonies are performed.

#### PARENTAL DISCIPLINE

Of the direct and indirect factors concerned with education perhaps that of the home influence is the most difficult to assess. As Dr. M. Mead has frequently pointed out, ethnologists often concern themselves with details of obvious formative elements to the exclusion of the apparently trivial facts and conditions of family life within a hut. Yet we can be assured that the discipline accorded at home is of practical value, for many observers agree with R. S. Rattray (1933, pp. 456-471), who asserts the efficacy of indigenous education. He says, "The result of the primitive African child's upbringing was to produce a type of man or woman whom anyone would be proud to call a friend."

Despite the authority of the maternal uncle in most Negro tribes, parents assume definite responsibilities in the training of children, and the nature of the controls can be illustrated by reference to the home life of the Ovimbundu. Ngonga said that his "stealing hand" was held for a second near the hot leaves that cover a cooking pot to

keep in the steam. If a child steals an egg that is cooking, it is held between his hands. When receiving a gift a child is taught to accept the present with both hands, for to hold out one hand is a depreciation of the gift. When receiving a gift, however small, a child must say "kuku," which means literally "grandfather" or "elder," but colloquially the word is used as a greeting, or with the meaning "Thank you," or "I beg your pardon." Several rules governing greetings between persons of equal or disparate ranks exist, and a child is expected to know and to observe these codes.

In the men's house young boys sit quietly, and they are expected to remain silent until addressed. Lying is strongly disapproved, and a liar or deceiver is called *ohembi*. The Ovimbundu appreciate hospitality, *unu*, which is strongly enjoined, while greediness is discountenanced. Spitting near the house of a village chief is forbidden, and in the words of Ngonga, "If you did that in the old days you would have to pay something." By correction, and by unconscious absorption through suggestion an Ovimbundu child, like children of most Negro tribes, adopts certain standards that are regarded as an indication of good manners and right attitudes toward other people.

#### GAMES

The educational value of games, music, and dancing lies in their formative influence over character and occupation. Games include many activities which are imitations of occupations for adults, while music in all its aspects is more important in Negro society than in more complex and more sophisticated groups. In highly educated societies esthetic values and amusement are of primary importance in association with music, but in Negro society, music, and especially community dancing, are indispensable for the preservation of certain social and religious attitudes. Music welds the parts of the social pattern in a way which is unknown in more erudite societies (Hambly, 1926b).

A classification of African games given by F. Starr (1909) provides a useful approach to the subject. Starr's grouping of games includes imitative play; the use of simple devices such as tops, bull-roarers, and string figures; and activity in such sports as running, canoeing, swimming, climbing trees, and wrestling. He also makes categories for round games, guessing games, and gambling. For each of these aspects of play a large body of literature is available, but all the main types of recreation and the educational values which they represent can be illustrated by reference to games of the Ovimbundu.

The Umbundu word for games is *olomapalo*, and to play is *oku papala*, but each game has its own name. As in division of labor, activity in games depends on age and sex. Some amusements are considered suitable for boys only, others for girls only, while in early years boys and girls often associate in imitative play and round games, though separation of the sexes for play takes place before the tenth year. Some games are played by men only and others by women only.

A round game imitative of the depredations of a leopard is played by Ovimbundu children of both sexes, ranging in age from five to ten years. This is typical of a category of similar games of a non-specialized type played by Negro children. One child imitates the movements of a leopard, one of the older girls is the mother, and the rest of the players are her children. To the accompaniment of a simple refrain which is repeated indefinitely all join hands, dance in a circle, and sing. Then the leopard dashes in and steals a child, who is carried off to the bush. After the leopard has paid several visits, a general hunt is organized until all the children are found. As they are discovered, one by one, they are made to sit apart pretending to pound grain on the rocks, meanwhile singing a refrain which is usually chanted by women when occupied with crushing maize.

Ovimbundu boys play games of warfare and hunting, and in the former mimicry girls sometimes act as prisoners. Two sides, each with a leader, are chosen for defence and attack respectively. The victors run about the village taking prisoners from among girls and small children, who are tied with bark rope. Strong boys are selected as hunters whose dogs are the little boys running on all-fours. Toy bows and blunt wooden arrows are used in this pastime. The boys who pretend to be game roll over in the grass when shot; then the hunters run forward and tie the dead game to a pole, or the game may be expected to cling to the pole while being borne back to the village. The Ovimbundu were at one time renowned carriers who traversed Africa. Boys still make up loads in the correct way, and these they carry while singing the traditional marching songs.

Up to the age of sixteen Ovimbundu boys play the game of *ocitina*, in which bulbs from a figwort are rolled between two lines of competitors; the winners are those whose arrows hit the greater number of bulbs. Boys make a hoop by binding the ends of a long pliable branch. The lasso is a piece of rattan or bark having at each end a corncob or a small stick. One boy bowls the hoop so that it passes in front of his opponent who tries to lasso it. In the

game of hide-and-seek a knife is hidden, then a boy who has been hidden comes in to act as searcher. His proximity to the hidden knife is indicated by playing a musical bow. Certain taps mean that the knife is far away, but as the searcher draws near to the hidden object the bow sounds "yelula! yelula!" meaning "pick it up."

In common with many Negro tribes the Ovimbundu have a whipping top, but they do not possess the type of top used in some parts of west Africa for gambling. T. J. Alldridge (1910, p. 229) states that the Mendis of Sierra Leone place a mat on the ground, and around this four players are seated. The mat is divided into four courts. Each player sets a bone top in motion with a twist of his fingers, and hopes that when two tops collide his own will knock that of his opponent off the mat. The distribution of various forms of top in Africa, likewise the histories of the types, has, so far as I know, not been studied.

A gambling game played in most Negro tribes, and chiefly by adult males, is that generally known by the name of *mancala*, though many local names are used, and the rules of the game vary. A *mancala* board, according to locality, has two rows of six holes, or four rows of seven holes, and if a board is not available holes are scooped in the ground. The counters, which represent men, may be nuts or cowrie shells, a few of which are placed in each of the holes representing villages or forts that have to be captured. At each end of the board is a hole to accommodate the captured pieces. The game is one of quick counting and transferring of counters from one hole to another. The gambling stakes are high and out of all proportion to the wealth of the players, who sometimes have to part with their clothes and every possession. The Ovimbundu call the game *ocela* and use a board having holes arranged in four rows of seven. Evidence of such a game may be seen in early Egyptian records, but A. Erman (1894, p. 288) states that the Egyptian game of similar type to *mancala* has not been identified with certainty. Exportation of slaves from west Africa introduced the game into South America and the West Indies (Herskovits, 1932b), while Arab influence carried *mancala* to many parts of Africa and to the far east (Culin, 1894).

R. Davies (1925, pp. 137-152) has prepared an article describing Arab games and puzzles that have a vogue in the eastern Sudan. Other references to *mancala* are Brauholtz (1931, No. 131) for Uganda, and T. Sheppard (1931, No. 243) for Mombasa.

A very widely distributed game among Negroes is the making of string figures, whose complicated forms are carried out with great dexterity. A. W. Cardinall (1927a, p. 89) states that in the locality where he observed the game a piece of string in the form of a long loop is taken by each of two children, both of whom start with the palm tree pattern. After this has been made, one child quickly calls "parrot," and both compete to make the design as fast as possible. The other child may call "dog," and so on until one of the competitors is unable to make the pattern. Cardinall saw thirty-eight patterns made, and for some of the designs children used their necks and toes in addition to their fingers.

The subject of string figures has received attention from Cunningham (1906), A. C. Haddon (1906), K. Haddon (1930), K. Haddon and H. A. Treleaven (1936), J. Hornell (1930), K. G. Lindblom (1930), and J. Parkinson (1906).

In all tribes young girls spend considerable time in imitating the occupations of women. They are fond of molding clay into the forms of cooking pots, and many girls attempt the weaving of baskets. Dolls are made from corncocks, which are dressed in fragments of trade cloth decorated with beads. The Yoruba make dolls from flat pieces of wood, and in the eastern Sudan children manufacture dolls by placing rounded pieces of wax at the ends of thin sticks. The breasts are represented by pellets of wax. Some human hair is stuck on the head, while eyes and mouth are marked by small white beads.

All the games mentioned or some similar types are generally distributed among Negro tribes, and some forms of sport which are less general and less spontaneous are known. Widely distributed in the western Sudan are wrestlers and jugglers, who travel from one market to another, and in addition to these are showmen with puppets, buffoons, and raconteurs. Wrestling matches in which the combatants wear spiked wristlets are held locally (Lindblom, 1927a; Meek, 1927, No. 29). Flogging contests, in which rhinoceros-hide whips are used, are a form of sport in the eastern Sudan, but most of these entertainments are organized by special performers, and the games are not generally characteristic of Negro life.

#### DANCING AND SINGING

Dancing may be only a pastime; in fact, drums are heard almost every evening in Negro villages calling young people to a social dance which has no specific purpose. On the contrary many dances



are expressive of collective emotions, for example, at initiation into the tribe, at funerals, during agricultural rites, to aid rain-making, or to mark the beginning of war. Some of the most important dances of Negroes are held during ceremonies connected with ancestor worship, and during these rites masked figures impersonate the dead, who are thought to return to occupy a shrine temporarily. Among the Ovimbundu the *onyaco* dance is performed to give strength to a sick chief by a process of sympathetic magic. A strong man dances while grasping a small ball in his outstretched hand, while other dancers pound his muscles to make him release the ball. When he has reached the limit of endurance, he hands the ball to another dancer, and the rite is continued indefinitely.

Despite a tendency for ceremonial dances to decline under European influence, the majority of Negro tribes retain some of their ritual dances. Zulu males are still able to perform war dances in which thousands take part, and the Half-Hamitic Masai and Nandi have their ritual dances to celebrate the spearing of lions. Dances connected with secret societies and tribal initiation still flourish widely. Some of the older Ovimbundu men and women perform dances and sing songs which are unknown to the younger generation. For example, there is a dance that was performed only at new moon, so that "there would be no sickness during that moon." Occasionally old men dance in commemoration of warlike events. A group of men shuffles slowly while a solo dancer chants a story in a singsong voice. The dance is accompanied by drinking of beer and the slaughter of an ox.

Although dancing is practiced all the year, the months following a good harvest are the most favorable, since supplies of grain are available for brewing beer. In Negro tribes the harvest, making beer, dancing, and the selection of partners in marriage are closely linked factors. A remarkable feature of Negro dancing is the endurance of the performers, who seem to become intoxicated with their rhythm as much as with the beer they consume. From soon after sunset to dawn the shuffling and swaying continue, while the drummers throw back their heads and play continuously for hours with an ecstatic look on their faces.

Although musical ability is general, especially with regard to dancing and singing, certain performers show exceptional aptitude. Specialization in dancing, singing, and playing instruments is usual among Negroes, and among the Ovimbundu, as with most tribes, names for performers of marked ability exist. *Onjimbi* is the

Umbundu word for a singer who starts choruses, and *ucili* is a dancer of more than ordinary skill. Men are the chief musicians in Negro tribes, but relatively few men perform on musical instruments, and a high degree of specialization is the rule. Each village has a few expert instrumentalists, who may be drummers only, players of the marimba, or performers on some other musical instrument, but ability to play several instruments expertly is exceptional. Drummers specialize among themselves; thus, there is a specialist who plays a friction drum, another who performs on the long tubular drum, and one who plays only the wooden drum which has no membrane.

Composers of topical songs, which are often given impromptu at a dance, are to be found in all Negro tribes, and both men and women perform in this way. The satirical songs that function as a crude social control have been described by J. H. Weeks (1909, p. 447) who states: "The greedy man, the coward, the thief, the scamp who disregards the feelings of others and rides rough-shod over all the social and communal institutions, the man who is impotent, the man who is accused of witchcraft and will not take the ordeal, also the incestuous, are all put into the songs which are sung at village dances, and there is no more powerful factor in influencing the native to good or evil than the mention of his name in an impromptu song at the village dance."

The ability of Negroes to compose marching and paddling songs, also the esthetic value of some of the poetry, have been mentioned in connection with language as a means of emotional expression.

Study of the musical instruments of Negroes can be approached by classifying musical devices according to the method of producing sound. The principal divisions are instruments of percussion, wind instruments, those with strings, and those that rely on friction. In each main category are many primary forms, each of which has a characteristic distribution, and as local variations of the main types hundreds of varieties occur.

#### PERCUSSIVE INSTRUMENTS

Talking drums of Ashanti, Liberia, and the Cameroons were described in connection with languages, since the production of music is not their function. Hollow, cylindrical, wooden drums having a slit or slits at the top often serve for signaling. A flat form of signaling drum is used in the southwest Congo region and northeast Angola.

Drums are the most important of all musical instruments used by Negroes because they are indispensable in dances that form a

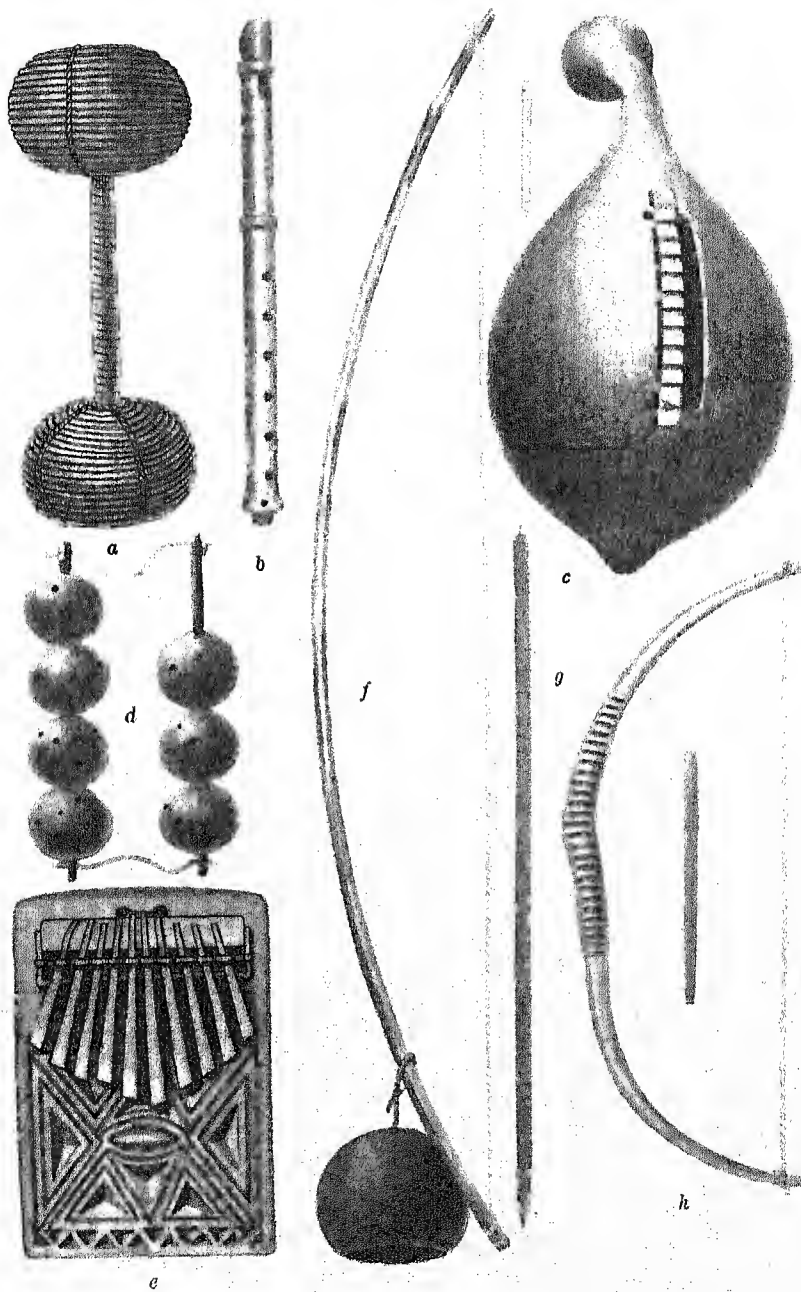


FIG. 77. Musical instruments from Angola.

background of social and religious life. The commonest form of drum which is generally associated with dancing has a membrane at one or both ends. A form of wide distribution is long and cylindrical, and this is a type of instrument which a performer often holds between his legs, or leans against a framework of sticks. Usually the hands are used in drumming. Before use the tympanum is warmed, and the pitch may be changed by adding lumps of wax or rubber to the sides of the instrument. The membrane is generally kept in position by wooden pegs over which it may be more or less tightly stretched. This type of instrument is often used to form a quartet of drums of different lengths, with notes of different pitch. Each performer preserves his own rhythm, so that a compound rhythm is produced.

Pottery drums made by stretching a piece of hide over the mouth of a wide earthenware vessel are not typical of Negro instruments, though such types are frequently seen in northern Nigeria and other parts of west Africa. Pottery drums are widely used in north Africa, and by the Tuareg of the Sahara. Hourglass drums, as the name implies, are constricted in the middle. This form of instrument may have a membrane at either one or both ends. According to local custom, a performer plays with his fingers or with a curved drumstick, and the instrument may be held under the arm, or between the knees of a seated performer. Cylindrical wooden drums of light construction having a membrane at each end may be slung round a musician's neck or held under his arm. Such a drum is often ornamented with jingling brasswork, and it is played by tapping the membrane with a curved wooden stick. Fig. 74, *b* shows two men of the Yoruba tribe of southern Nigeria, one of whom is playing a drum while the other has a wind instrument known as the *algaita*, probably of north African origin.

The sacred character of many drums owned by Negroes is of more importance than the form of instrument or the kind of music produced. A drum which is regarded as a possession of a village or a tribe is the focus of the social and religious life. An instrument of this kind, often beautifully carved (Fig. 96) is specially housed in or near a chief's compound. The drummers have high social standing on account of their calling and the fact that they are a permanent part of the chief's household. Feeding sacred drums by pouring over them libations of beer, blood, or milk is not an uncommon rite, and the drum itself may be regarded as a shrine into which the spirit of a dead chief enters on ceremonial occasions.

From the Angas tribe of the Bauchi plateau, eastern Nigeria, I obtained a drum of the type regarded as sacred under certain conditions. The owner of the drum was still alive and at liberty to part with his possession, but similar instruments which had belonged to men of distinction, now dead, were housed in a shelter. Over the threshold no one was allowed to pass, and purchase of one of the sacred instruments was impossible.

Data from R. S. Rattray's "Religion and Art in Ashanti" clearly indicate the sacred character of certain drums played in the *adae* ceremonies, at which a reigning chief does homage to the ghosts of his predecessors. The *aperde* drums, which were four in number, were used to form an orchestra. Enemies taken in warfare were killed, then their blood was poured over the drums, and their jaw-bones were used for decorating the instruments. *Aperde* drums are specially associated with ancestral spirits; therefore, the instruments are used in sacred rites which are carried out at the burial place of chiefs. The player of a drum known as *sika akukua* is the chief of all the drummers of the King of Ashanti. The drum, which is encased in gold leaf, is kept in front of the golden stool. The player of *sika akukua* may not be killed no matter how serious his offence.

Although men are usually the drummers in Negro tribes, there are many notable exceptions indicating that certain drums may be played by women only, and only on specific ritual occasions. In Ashanti the *dono* drum has a tense membrane at each end, and the tone of the instrument is altered by tightening or relaxing the cords which keep the membranes in position. Pressure is applied to the cords by holding the instrument under the arm. Women may beat this drum, which is used at puberty ceremonies (Rattray, 1927a, p. 283). K. G. Lindblom (1916, p. 169) refers to women of the Akamba, who are northeastern Bantu, beating their big drums and meeting in council. At a python dance which is part of the initiation rites of the Bavenda, drums are used. The drums may be played by either sex, but at the *domba* ceremony they are more often played by girls (Stayt, 1931a, p. 115). A drum known as *nkiringwane* and another (*ntakula*) are used during puberty initiation rites of Valenge girls. The first of these instruments contains sacred symbols representing male and female principles; another symbol representing the clitoris is also placed in the drum (Earthy, 1933, p. 117). The historical importance of drums as sacred objects which are bequeathed from a ruler to his successor, and the ritual significance of drums have been discussed by P. R. Kirby (1934, pp. 30-31),

F. G. B. Reynolds (1930, No. 23), A. E. Robinson (1932, No. 300), and D. F. Heath (1937, No. 91).

Iron gongs are ancient and widely distributed instruments of percussion, varying in size from a few inches to three feet in length. As early as the year 1600 Andrew Battell gave an account of the use of iron gongs in north Angola, where the instrument was struck when a war chief of the Jagas was about to address his troops. A *marimba* consists of slats of wood, from nine to seventeen in number, fastened transversely across a wooden frame, or threaded on two parallel cords which have to be held taut by two assistants, one at each end of the instrument. The slats are struck with two rubber-headed sticks. In most forms of *marimba* a gourd is fastened directly under each slat of wood, and as the gourds are of different lengths the vibrating columns of air vary; hence, notes of different pitch are produced when the boards are struck. The method of playing recalls a xylophone, but application of European names such as guitar, banjo, fiddle, or harp to African instruments is often misleading since resemblances to European forms are superficial, and methods of producing sound are different from those adopted in Europe. The African musical scale differs fundamentally from that of Europe.

Rattles (Fig. 77, *a*, *d*) made from gourds, small baskets, hollow seed pods, and iron are the most numerous of percussive instruments. These may be shaken by hand, or they can be attached to the ankles, knees, or waists of performers. The use of wooden clappers struck together by hand is common.

#### WIND INSTRUMENTS

Wind instruments include side-blown horns of antelope that give out deep, booming notes. Before ivory was scarce large side-blown trumpets were similarly employed, and many of them were associated with sacred rites. End-blown wooden flutes are fairly common (Fig. 77, *b*), and some chiefs of the Ovimbundu have a trio of flutists in attendance. Whistles are made of wood, bone, or ivory, and it is usual for a rain-maker to use an instrument of this kind while performing his ritual dance. A nose-flute is used by the Bambala of the southwest Congo region, but this form of instrument is quite unusual in Africa.

#### STRINGED INSTRUMENTS

Stringed instruments are numerous, and among these the simplest and most widely distributed are musical bows (Fig. 77, *f*, *g*). The Ovimbundu call such an instrument *ombumbumba*, but it has many

local names among Negro tribes. The form of the musical bow which is common in Angola is that of a simple bow such as hunters use, but smaller. A bridge of wood keeps the string taut, and a gourd which is fastened to the string is pressed intermittently to the body of the player to give resonance. One end of the bow is placed against the performer's teeth while the other end is held by his right hand. With his left hand he uses a short stick to tap the bowstring. The *goura*, which is used principally by Bushmen, is superficially like a musical bow, but it is essentially different in the operating principle. The string of a *goura* is made to vibrate, not by tapping, but by oscillation of a quill attached to the end of the bow which the player puts into his open mouth (H. Balfour, 1899; 1902, pp. 156-176).

Stringed instruments are common in north, west, and east Africa. The *rababa* is a form known wherever Arab influence has penetrated. Along north Africa and in the west a common type of instrument is strung with horsehair and played with a small bow having a compound string of the same material. Usually a stringed instrument consists of a gourd covered with a taut piece of lizard skin or hide from a mammal. To the gourd a long straight stick is attached, and from the end of the stick to the remote side of the gourd are fastened strings, varying in number from one to seven.

The most important friction instrument is the friction drum, but the word "drum" is a misnomer since no blow is given to the membrane. A performer I observed at Ngalangi, east-central Angola, sat astride a friction drum four feet long and eighteen inches in diameter; the instrument had been hollowed from a single log, which was then covered with a hide at one end and left open at the other. He placed his moistened hand through a hole on the upper surface of the drum, and grasped a long cane rod which was made fast to the membrane. When he rubbed his hand along the rod the vibration was communicated to the membrane of the drum. Rubbing a grooved board, which is fastened to a hollow gourd, is a common method of producing sound by friction (Fig. 77, c). H. Balfour (1907) has described types of African friction drums and their distribution.

Bull-roarers should be included among frictional instruments because the sound is produced by whirling a slat of wood which is attached to a string. The performer holds the string and whirls the wood round his head, so producing a loud buzzing sound. The Ovimbundu, like many tribes at the present day, use the bull-roarer

as a plaything; this, however, is a degradation of function, for the instrument was at one time used in sacred ceremonies of tribal initiation. Among the Yoruba of Nigeria at the present day bull-roarers are secretly used in the bush, and the noise produced is said to be the voice of a spirit named Oro. This instrument has a wide distribution outside Africa, chiefly in connection with initiation ceremonies for boys. A comparative study of many different forms is made in "Tribal Dancing and Social Development" (Hambly, 1926b).

An instrument used over the greater part of Negro Africa and called by the Ovimbundu *ocisanji* is played usually by men. Since the thin iron or stiff rattan keys are stroked by the thumbs of the performer the instrument cannot be included in any of the categories mentioned. The contrivance consists of a wooden board or shallow box of rectangular form, often well carved, and to this two wooden bridges are attached. Through these bridges are fastened thin metal or rattan keys, varying from eight to nineteen in number, and arranged in one, two, or three tiers. The forms of the instrument show many local types. The lengths of the keys can be altered by pushing them to and fro in the bridges, and the pitch of the notes can be further changed by adding small balls of wax to the under side of the keys. Sometimes a performer holds the instrument in a large gourd to amplify the sound (Fig. 77, e).

#### MUSICAL TECHNIQUE

Although the social, religious, and educational functions of music are of primary importance, the technique is receiving increased attention, and will continue to do so with the improvement of apparatus for recording musical compositions. The phonograph was invented by Edison in 1877, and one of its earliest uses in ethnological work was in 1891, when W. Fewkes, chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, recorded songs among the Zuni Indians. Light, portable recorders are made for field work; these operate by a coiled spring, but, if conditions permit, an instrument may be attached to an electric light socket, or worked by attachment to the battery of an automobile. A recent type of recorder is worked by dry storage batteries.

An instructive introduction to the study of African music has been written by E. M. von Hornbostel (1928, 1933), who states that African and modern European music are constructed on entirely different principles; therefore they cannot be fused into one system. Since the year A.D. 1600 European music has been constructed



according to laws of harmony, while African music is based on melody. The music of Islamic north Africa, though showing traces of Negro influence, belongs to the Arabic-Persian civilization. Like Negro music, Arabic music is not composed, since performers make their compositions without theoretical knowledge. Instrumentalists are unable to write the scores of their pieces, and pupils are taught by ear. The use of the enharmonic scale, having intervals less than a semitone, and the general technique and history of Arabic music have been discussed by L. Williams (1934) and B. Schiffe (1936).

A parallel exists between Arabic architecture and Arabic music, and the former has a symmetry and mathematical form which finds its counterpart in musical rhythms. Each Arabic name has a definite pattern and rhythm of beats, and, as in Hindu music, the occult significance of compositions is essential to the technique. Hindu music has a mode for each hour of the day, for each season, for harmony with the planets, and with the signs of the zodiac. The music also possesses male and female modes and rhythms (Fyzee, 1914 and Popley, 1921).

In Africa definite and fundamental distinctions occur among the music of Arabs, Bantu Negroes, Sudanic Negroes, and Hamites, but these differences, together with the interrelationships of characteristic types of African music, have not as yet been precisely determined. African Negro music has features that can be regarded as typical. One of these traits is antiphony, which is an alternate singing of solo and chorus, and, in addition to this, part-singing and complex rhythms are essential elements.

The musical principles involved in the construction and playing of what are apparently simple one-stringed devices have been illustrated by R. Kirby (1931, pp. 89-109) in his description of the *gora* and its allied forms, and in his examination of the "... Harmonics of Stretched Strings." Kirby recognizes ten types of stringed instruments used by natives of the Union of South Africa, and these he classifies according to the relative complexities of the sounds produced. He discusses intervals used, musical scales, and other technicalities. See H. Tracey (1935) on tuning African instruments.

A great task awaits the student of African music, not only in recording in the field, but in making a comparative study of existing data. For this work very few are qualified by ethnological training, combined with a natural aptitude for music and a command of technique. Prominent among musical studies are the following references which have not been mentioned in the text.

B. Ankermann (1902) published a catalogue of musical instruments, but a more useful one, especially for comparative study of African and Asiatic forms, is that of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The three volumes of this catalogue describe the Crosby Brown Collection. S. Chauvet (1929) wrote a general work on Negro music, and M. Cuney-Hare (1936) has a volume describing the influence of African music in America. F. Eboué's (1935) article describes musical tones of percussive instruments. The social and psychological factors of dancing have been discussed by E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1928b). G. Herzog has published a paper describing the recording of primitive music in Africa and America. H. Husmann (1936) published an article dealing with the *marimba* and the *sansa*. Von Kunst's (1936) article points out resemblances between the music and instruments of Indonesia, Java, and central Africa. C. S. Myers (1907) contributed a paper on "The Ethnological Study of Music." The music of Tanganyika has been recorded by P. H. Molitor (1913), and R. A. C. Oliver (1932) has published his research on the "Musical Talent of Natives of East Africa." F. Pulestone (1930) has published a work on African drums. R. Skene's (1917) article is useful in the study of Arab influences on the dances and ceremonies of east Africa. A. N. Tucker (1933) described "Children's Games and Songs in the Southern Sudan." An article on the tuning of African musical instruments was published by H. Tracey (1935). A bibliography by D. H. Varley (1936a) gives many references to African music. A comprehensive study of African drums (H. Wieschhoff, 1933), and their cultural relationship to forms outside of Africa should be used in conjunction with the contribution by Von Kunst (1936).

#### INITIATION INTO THE TRIBE

##### MAIN FACTORS OF INITIATION

Consideration so far has been given to education which is chiefly of an informal kind. The educational agencies described are family life, youthful companionships, tradition, folklore, games, imitative play, music, and dancing. These factors operate from infancy to initiation, when a sudden break is made with juvenile life, and special ceremonies are held for making a transfer to adult status. The phrase *rites de passage*, used first by A. van Gennep (1909), is an apt description of the transitional nature of the initiation rites recorded below.

The initiation ceremonies of Negro tribes achieve their purpose of education and incorporation by definite social, religious, and

economic training. Moreover, certain corporal operations and processes are commonly employed either at the initiation rites or in the years preceding them.

Social training is given by enforcing the fact that the novices are a united body with a common purpose, and in some tribes recognition of each initiation class as a definite group persists for life. This is especially so among Nilotic Negroes and Half-Hamites. Knowledge of tribal law, sex training, and obedience to elders are also important elements in the social training afforded by initiation.

A religious element is in some instances distinctly seen in sacrifices to ancestors, in the assumption that masked officers of the initiation are visitors from the dead, and in the supposed death of the novices, who are reborn and receive new names and an adult standing in the tribe. Lustration by water or fire is a means of emphasizing this rebirth.

In some camps handicrafts are taught to boys, and girls receive instruction in domestic work. A common feature of camp training is the demand that each novice shall be self-supporting. He must live frugally, and he may be required to trap and collect all his own food. In this way the economic aspect of tribal life is recognized.

Frequently initiation depends on arrival at puberty, and the rites are often associated with circumcision of boys, and for girls clitoridectomy, defloration, or some more drastic operation on the sex organs. Scarification of the body, mutilation of the teeth, boring of the ears, and the fattening of girls are operations commonly associated with puberty rites, though some tribes perform these ritual acts during the years preceding puberty.

Initiation rites do not invariably coincide with puberty. In some regions, for example, among the Vachokwe of eastern Angola, initiation ceremonies are held once in four years; therefore, the ages of the novices in one camp have a considerable range. The discrepancy in age and physical development is shown in the illustration of boys in camp at Cangamba (Fig. 78, *a*). Frequently the initiation of girls is begun soon after their first menstrual period.

The following account of initiation rites illustrates the main principles and procedures of such ceremonies among Bantu, Sudanic, and Nilotic Negroes. Details vary considerably, and the age-grade ceremonies adopted by Nilotes and Half-Hamites have factors which do not enter into the rites of Bantu and Sudanic Negroes. Yet tribal initiation is based on certain fundamental principles and

procedures, and, in comparison with these, local variations are relatively unimportant.

The main function of initiation as a social rebirth is illustrated by an account of a rite performed by the Akikuyu, a tribe of the northeastern Bantu. The importance of the rite is shown by the fact that an M'kikuyu who has not been "born again" loses rights of inheritance and is debarred from taking part in any religious ceremony (W. S. and K. Routledge, London, 1910, p. 151).

The ritual of rebirth is performed for both boys and girls, usually when they are about ten years of age. If the uterine mother is dead, another woman acts as substitute. The ceremony is a recapitulation of the procedure of childbirth; therefore, only women are allowed to be present. The child is dressed in the skin and the stomach of an animal which has been killed for the purpose, and the mother, who acts as if in labor, sits on the floor of the hut with the child between her knees.

Gut from the sacrificed animal is passed round the mother and the child. The mother groans, the child gives a cry, and a female attendant cuts the gut. Assistants wash the child, who that night sleeps in the same hut as the mother. This custom is not general among Negroes, but it is important as a particular instance of the widespread emphasis which is placed on initiatory rites as a social rebirth.

#### TYPICAL BANTU INITIATION

Most of the fundamental points involved in initiation can be illustrated from personal observations among the Vachokwe of eastern Angola.

At the village of Ngongo in east-central Angola a mixture of tribes—Vachokwe, Ovimbundu, Vanyemba, and Vangangella—hold initiation ceremonies once in four years. When a number of boys are ready for circumcision, and this is judged from their genital development, they go together to older men to ask for an initiation ceremony. Their request is passed to the village headman, and a large enclosure of boughs is constructed in the adjacent bush. The father of each boy has to arrange that a guardian accompanies his son to camp, but in some instances one guardian is appointed for two or three of the novices.

Each boy takes with him a chicken, which is killed at the ceremony for changing the names of the novices after the rite of circumcision has been performed. The new names are announced in the

village from which the boys came. Circumcision is a test of endurance, and disgrace attaches to any signs of pain; therefore, to stifle the cries so that they will not be heard outside the enclosure, a band of male drummers is engaged to play drums during the operation.

The period spent in seclusion is variable at different centers and at different times, but the ceremonies are usually continued during a period varying from three to six months. The rule is that camp must not be disbanded until healing is complete; therefore, one septic case can delay the final ceremonies for weeks or months. Moreover, all boys must be proficient in the dances which are performed when they leave camp, and those novices who are slow to learn delay the final rites.

One custom of Ngongo differs from those followed at other centers of eastern Angola. Each boy has to take from the fire a burning stick, which he holds in his hand while running between two lines of men who beat him. If he drops the brand he has to start his course once more. Should a boy die during the rites a hole is bored in his food platter, which is returned to his mother as an indication that he will not require more food. Every guardian has a stick to represent each of the boys under his care. These sticks are sent to the respective mothers at the conclusion of the ceremonies, but if a boy has died bark is cut from both ends of the stick which represents him.

On the day of leaving camp the boys pass between the legs of a man and a woman who stand on the bank of a river. In this water the boys bathe by taking three dips, between which they stand on the bank to dry. At the conclusion of the ceremony the novices are warned that they will die if they disclose information to women or to uncircumcised boys. A feast and beer-drinking is given to welcome the novices home, but for two months they wear similar skirts of bark, learn dances from an older initiate, and must move about the village as a company.

Near the village of Katoko procedure is variable with regard to the food supplied to novices. Sometimes parents are allowed to place food in bowls on the bank of a stream, whence it is brought to camp by the boys. Before eating, the boys have to give profuse thanks to their guardians, and in some camps a boy depends entirely on the food he can catch or collect.

Boys who have been circumcised are not allowed to wear clothes; neither may they have a fire, although the nights are cold in

comparison with daytime temperatures. During isolation, costumes are made for use at the final dances. The garments consist of tightly fitting, coarse netting, masks, and fiber skirts. No female is allowed near the enclosure, and women are supposed to be totally ignorant of the nature of the rites. Females and uninitiated boys believe that the masked novices (Fig. 78, *a*) who appear after seclusion are *ovinganji* (great judges) or spirits of the dead who have come to life. Initiated boys who have returned to their village have to keep together as a company during a period of three months, and they are forbidden to speak to uncircumcised boys in this period.

At Cangamba, the chief center of the Vachokwe tribe, the novices' enclosure was constructed of poles and boughs. These formed a high fence whose narrow entrance was guarded by an adult male. In the arena were several small wicker structures in which the boys lie for two weeks after circumcision (Fig. 78, *b*). The ordinary dress during seclusion is a fiber skirt, but masks of barkcloth and mesh suits of fiber are made for use at a final ceremony. Within the compound were several drums, and to the accompaniment of these the novices were taught the dances that are performed when the seclusion is ended. Masks I purchased were carefully wrapped in barkcloth, with the request that they might not be seen by women.

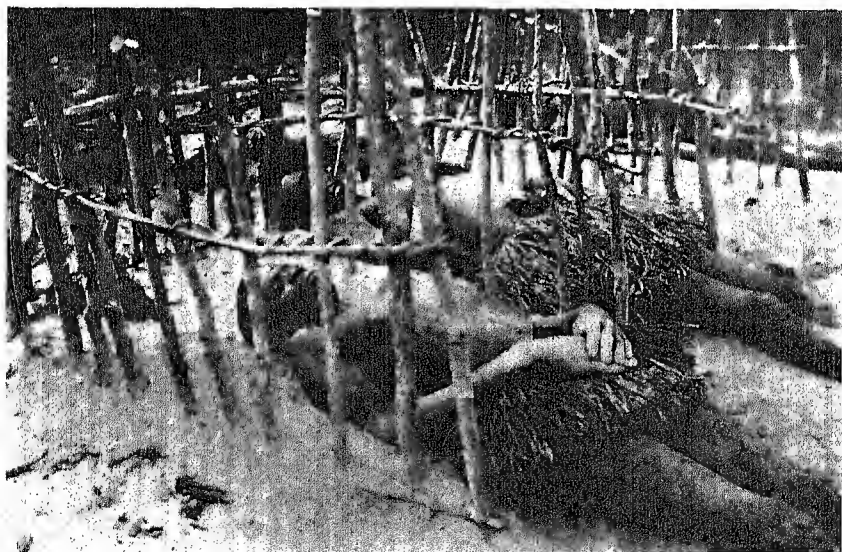
During a final ceremony which lasted for twelve hours, the novices, who were masked and clad in netting suits, performed ceremonial dances to the accompaniment of drums. Stilt-walkers and a masked medicine-man played a prominent part in this ceremony. Women and children pretended to be afraid of the masked figures who pursued them, and the boys strutted about arrogantly to emphasize their manhood. One boy had a large artificial penis attached to his costume.

All these factors are typical of initiation rites among Negro tribes, and everywhere the procedure emphasizes a launching out into adult status with new privileges and obligations. The boy enters upon a period of seclusion, hardship, and instruction. He dies in a social and psychological sense but is reborn as an adult member of the village group from which he came.

At Ngongo among the Vanyemba tribe initiation rites for girls are observed. In July, 1929, the segregation camp was situated in thick bush a mile from the village, and no males or uninitiated girls were allowed to approach the enclosure. Three elderly women who were in charge of the girls left their retreat and performed ceremonial dances. The photograph (Fig. 79, *b*) shows the decoration of these



*a*



*b*

FIG. 78. Initiation rites. *a*. Newly circumcised boys, Vachokwe, Cangamba, Angola. *b*. Vachokwe boys confined after circumcision, Cangamba, Angola.

guardians, who were naked except for their loin cloths. Their faces and bodies were thickly smeared with alternate bands of red and white clay. The women emerged from the bush, and, moving backward with short steps, presently arrived before an orchestra of male drummers and women who clapped their hands in rhythm. The dance was no more than a slow shuffling movement performed with heads and bodies bent.

The girls are kept in seclusion for a month, but they do not suffer the privation and harsh treatment which are given to boys. The instruction given to the novices is of a sexual kind, and defloration with a lubricated corncob is said to take place.

In his article "Secret Societies of Lubaland," W. F. P. Burton (1930) has given information relating to the initiation of girls. Secretly, the girls are sent in groups to a hidden meeting place in the forest, one or two years before their first menstruation is due. During isolation there is enlargement of the vagina and labia minora, an act which is supposed to be a preparation for motherhood, and a general belief exists that a girl who is not treated in this way will not make a successful marriage. The novices are told that barrenness will result from divulging the secrets of their initiation.

Following the first rites in the bush a probationary period of one year is observed, and during this time several restrictions are imposed. The girl is regarded as a person who is susceptible to baneful influences, and to avoid these she is forbidden to draw water, to wash herself, or to perform any manual work. At the end of her probation the novice eats a ceremonial meal consisting of a chicken. When she eats the heart of the bird she is told that she is receiving a woman's heart; this is the most important of the symbolic acts emphasizing transition from childhood to womanhood. When eating the remainder of the chicken the novice has to be careful not to break the bones, since this would cause her child to be born with fractures. At the end of her probationary year the novice is said to have "come into purification." She is smeared with white pigment at the conclusion of a ceremony (*butanda*) and is then considered marriageable.

A detailed account of tribal initiation for girls of the Valenge tribe, who are southeastern Bantu of Portuguese East Africa, has been given by E. D. Earthy (1933). The rites, which were observed up to a few years ago, began with the first menstrual period, and to hasten this a medicine-man could give a potion containing the pulverized bones of a tortoise. Conception before marriage could be avoided by a ceremonial act.





*a*



*b*

FIG. 79. Initiation ceremonies. *a*. Whipping ceremony, Fulani tribe, Shendam, Nigeria. *b*. Women in charge of novices, Vanyemba, Ngongo, Angola.

The father of the girl paid a call to the chief to inform him that he had a daughter ready for the initiation school, and to pay a fee. An additional sum had to be paid to the mistress of the rites, who was called *nyambutsi*. This person held office through hereditary right, which persisted in the female line for many generations. The *nyambutsi* offered sacrifice to ancestral spirits and asked their help during the initiation ceremonies. During preparation for the rites the candidates were instructed by their mothers, aided by the *nyambutsi*, and the knowledge imparted related to domestic work, feminine hygiene, taboos connected with sacred things, and the symbolism of objects used during the initiation ceremony.

On the morning of the first day of the rites, the chief offered sacrifice and prayer to his ancestors, pleading that candidates might stand the tests. A diviner sought for omens to foretell the future of the novices. A rite was performed to consecrate the symbols, which included a horn, a drum, and carved dolls, male and female. These regalia are regarded as media by which ancestral spirits keep in touch with the initiatory ceremonies. The principal wife of the chief then conducted the girls to the bush, where their initiation was to take place.

*Nyambutsi* began the ceremony with a nude dance in which she was followed by the chaperons of the novices; the rhythms were accompanied by songs and beating of the sacred drum. During this time the candidates had to cry with fright; they were then deflorated with the horn, which was symbolic of the male organ. Every day during the month of seclusion the novices danced, learned a secret language, and were required to avoid certain foods. Instruction in sexual matters was given with the aid of the male and female dolls, which had a religious significance because they were vehicles for the ancestral spirits.

At the end of the month ablutions washed away impurities, a sacramental meal was taken, and the girls returned to their homes. But return to home life was the occasion for further ceremonial, and each novice had to have a messenger to make contacts with those who were not associated with the initiation school. Each novice had to observe a list of seventeen taboos. The intended husbands visited their respective partners, remained a night, and departed after a ceremonial ablution. Each girl finally received a new name.

#### SUDANIC NEGRO INITIATION

The Golah, Negroes of Liberia, hold initiation schools for both boys and girls, and according to J. M. Ceston (1911, pp. 729-754)

the rites are for "tribal initiation and preparation for life." On order of the chief the bush is cleared and rectangular huts are built; two houses are provided for novices, one for their attendants, and one for the bush devil in charge of the ceremonies. The girls are taught that this masked person is not human, but in reality she is the wife of a chief. Signs are set up, warning people not to use paths leading from the village to the bush school. The operation of scarification is carried out before the novices enter the initiation school, and in the school clitoridectomy is performed by the bush devil, who uses either a razor or a piece of glass. Instruction is given in songs and dances, cooking, making fishing nets of fiber, and in matters relating to sex. The final ceremony includes ablutions, and the girls are warned that they must hold no intercourse with the uninitiated; neither may they speak of their experiences in the bush.

In the *gree-gree* school for boys the novices receive tribal scarification and new names. If they have not previously been circumcised, the operation is performed in the bush. They are taught handicrafts, songs, and dances, and instruction is given in sexual matters. The tribal marks are made by a male bush devil in charge of the ceremonies. This man applies a healing salve to the cuts and makes the boys lie on their mats without taking any exercise for one or two weeks. In some *gree-gree* schools importance is attached to acrobatic exercises and juggling. A student should here refer to chapter IV of this section. Under the heading "Social Controls," a description is given of secret societies. Membership begins with juvenile initiation at puberty and persists through life, often in association with age-grades.

R. S. Rattray (1923, pp. 69-76) reports that in Ashanti he was not able to discover any initiatory rites for adolescent boys, but puberty rites for girls are performed at the time of first menstruation. At the first appearance of the menses, the mother of the girl enters the village beating a hoe with a stone and announcing the fact publicly to other women who sing songs. The mother of the menstruating girl spills a little wine on the ground, meanwhile addressing the supreme sky god and the earth goddess, "O mother who dwells in the land of ghosts, do not come and take her away." All hair is shaved from the body of the nubile girl, who sits in the street under an umbrella, with her mother and other clanswomen in attendance. Here she remains from dawn to sunset, receiving congratulations from her friends.

Girls wave flags and sing, "She has done it, our sister has done it. We congratulate her on the doing of it." Then follows ceremonial

bathing in the river accompanied by songs addressed to the spirit of the water, and after ablution the girl's body is marked with white clay. This rite celebrating arrival at puberty differs from other instances quoted, since the novices are not segregated in the bush, but the method of emphasizing a transition is the same in principle. In Ashanti a special feature of the puberty rite is the belief that up to the nubile period a child belongs partly to the spirit world. Adolescence is a transition from one world to another, but at puberty the "ghost child" becomes a man or a woman with the social status of a fully grown mortal. R. S. Rattray (1932a, vol. 1, p. 165) states that among some tribes of the Ashanti hinterland the operation of incision of the clitoris is a necessary prelude to marriage.

An article by L. W. G. Malcolm (1925b, No. 69) describes the fattening of betrothed girls of the Efik tribe at Old Calabar. He states that the duration of the process is an indication of social standing, and only the free-born have the means to pay for this preparation for marriage. No well-born man would marry a girl who had not been secluded and fattened. The girl is dressed in bright ceremonial clothing and ornaments, and during her seclusion she is liberally fed on pounded yams and palm oil, while all exertion and perspiration are prevented. The face and body of the girl are washed, and she is smeared with clay. White cloths are tied round her wrists, neck, and ankles as charms to prevent evil spirits from retarding the fattening process. Near the end of the seclusion clitoridectomy is performed by the girl's mother. The marriageable girl then assumes a special dress and coiffure, and the rites are concluded by a religious ceremony at the shrine of the ancestors in order to ensure marital faithfulness. P. A. Talbot (1926, vol. 2, p. 394 and Table XIV) gives a statement of periods spent in the fattening house by girls of the Ekoi and other tribes of southeast Nigeria.

#### NILOTIC NEGRO INITIATION

Among Nilotic Negroes and Half-Hamites initiation ceremonies have, in many tribes, a special procedure and sequence. In the region of the upper Nile, among the Galla of Abyssinia, and in the Half-Hamitic Masai and Nandi tribes, initiation is periodical. Boys and, in some tribes, girls are subject to age-grading, which requires that initiatory rites shall be performed at the end of every seven-year period. This age-grading will be more fully described in this section under the heading "Social Controls," because age-grading is the basis of military organization and government. But, despite peculiar

features of the Hamitic system of initiation, certain features which are comparable to traits of the Bantu Negro rites can be demonstrated.

In the Bari tribe, who are Nilotic Negroes, girls pass through five principal stages of initiation, each of which includes a physical operation. Girls of fifteen years of age are cicatrized on both sides of the lumbar region, and two years later tribal cicatrices are cut on the abdomen. A year is then allowed to elapse before cicatrices are cut on the back, from the loins to the shoulders. At nineteen years of age the lower incisor teeth and the lower canines are extracted; this ceremony gives marriageable status, and failure to submit to the rite is thought to prevent fecundity. Novices have to observe taboos, and failure to do so is said to retard healing of the gums. The girls must not shave their heads, may not go about alone, nor draw water from the river. The period of seclusion is spent in singing special initiation songs, learning dances, bathing, and making charms to avert the evil eye or other calamity. Complete healing of the gums is celebrated by a dance, a feast, and drinking of beer.

One or two years after extraction of the teeth, the final scarification is given in the form of a triple row of dots on each side of the breast bone. Following three months of seclusion the girls are allowed to go to the homes of their respective husbands. For each age-grade a name is given, but the same name is never found twice in the same village; the same age-grade names, however, are used in different villages (L. M. Spagnolo, 1932, pp. 393-403).

P. Crazzolaro (1932a, pp. 28-40) reports that the operation of cicatrizing the foreheads of Nuer boys marks entrance to manhood. The rite, which may last from three months to a year, takes place at intervals of four years. The decision to hold such a ceremony is made by a village headman, who also inaugurates the rites. A period of seclusion, which lasts for several months after the operation, is closed by a dancing ceremony. The boys become men and members of a new age-class, with certain definite obligations and privileges in relation to their tribe and age-group.

The data adduced up to the present give a general background of Negro beliefs and rites affecting conception, pregnancy, delivery, twins, and other phenomena of childbirth. The fundamentals of education have been considered by examining the nature of play, music, dancing, and rites of formal initiation. The procedure of founding a family has been observed, the children have taken their place in the tribe, and now the kinship relations of family members should be considered.

Supplementary reading on the subject of initiation will be found in the following books and articles: R. Andree (1880-82), S. Bagge (1904; Masai circumcision), H. von Baumann (1932; Vachokwe), G. Beyer (1926; northwest Transvaal), J. T. Brown (1921; Bechuana), G. St. J. O. Browne (1915; northeast Africa), F. Bugeau (1911; Kikuyu), G. Chéron (1933; Malinke of west Africa), P. Crazzolaro (1932a; Nuer of Upper Nile), E. D. Earthy (1933; Valenge, Portuguese East Africa), L. Frobenius (1898; masks), L. H. Gray (1913b; general); W. D. Hambly (1935b; Angola), C. P. Holdredge and K. Young (1927; Vachokwe), A. E. Jensen (1933; a comprehensive general work on initiation), N. Jones (1921, No. 92; Matabele), H. A. Junod (1929; northern Transvaal), C. Le Coeur (1935; Tibesti region), K. G. Lindblom (1927b; ceremonial use of stilts), J. Maes (1924; Congo masks and circumcision ceremonies), G. Róheim (1929; a psychological study), M. Schulien (1923-24; Portuguese East Africa), P. A. Schweiger (1914; Ama Xosa and Ama Fingo), H. S. Stannus (1913b; Yao of Nyasaland), H. Welcker (1877-78; circumcision in ancient Egypt), C. A. Wheelright (1905; South Africa), W. C. Willoughby (1909; Bechuana tribe), M. Zaborowski (1894; general, circumcision of boys and girls).

### III. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

#### KINSHIP TERMS

(Tables 10, 11)

A study of social organization is intended to show the relationship of an individual to his family, village, clan, and tribe. To each of these structural units members owe an allegiance which involves both privileges and obligations. These reciprocal duties form the subject of the present chapter.

A. I. Richards (1932) has supported the theory that human relationships within the family, village, clan, and tribe are primarily determined by nutritional needs. Within the family a long lactation results in a growth of sentiments around the mother. But, after weaning, a child begins to build up new attitudes towards brothers, sisters, parents, and relatives on both the maternal and paternal sides of the family. Concurrently there is the establishment of relationships between an individual and all the social groups which unitedly form a system of government.

Family relationships result from birth and marriage, both of which factors determine the nature of the kinship system. Therefore, a study of kinship terms and family relationships provides a logical starting point for investigating the mechanism of social organization and government.

The following list of kinship terms used by Ngonga, a male of the Ovimbundu tribe, explains the nature of the scheme of relationships commonly used among Bantu and some Sudanic Negroes. Elements of a similar classificatory system of relations are found among some Nilotic Negroes and Half-Hamites.

*Kinship Terms.*—The numbers on the left of the kinship terms distinguish those terms in Tables 10 and 11. Roman numerals on the right of the tables denote the generation. Numbers on the left of the sign (=) refer to males, those on the right to females.

- (1) *Ukai wange* is my wife; the reciprocal is *veyange*, my husband.
- (2) *Mume, manja, manjange* means younger brother.
- (3) *Kota, huwa*, older brother.
- (4) *Mbuale*, sister, is the direct form of address; *mukai wange* is used if speaking of a sister.
- (5) *Nawa* is the term used for all in-laws of the speaker's own generation.
- (6) *Ndatembo* is the word used to designate all in-laws of an ascending or descending generation.
- (7) *Tate* is the word used for my father, my father's brother, and my mother's sister's husband. The reciprocal term is *omolange*, my child.

- (8) *Mai* means mother. The word is used to designate my uterine mother, my mother's sister, and my father's brother's wife.
- (9) *Aphai*, my father's sister.
- (10) *Omolange*, child.
- (11) *Ocimumba*, children of spouse's family.
- (12) *Manu*, mother's brother, the most important of the relatives.
- (13) *Kulu*, an old person in the grandparents' generation. *Sekulu* and *kukululu* are terms used to designate male grandparents.
- (14) *Maikulu* is the term for female grandparents.
- (15) *Onekulu* designates a grandchild of either sex.
- (16) *Upalume* are the father's sister's children and the mother's brother's children. Marriage with a mother's brother's child is enjoined, marriage with a father's sister's child is permitted but not favored. Marriage with a mother's sister's child or a father's brother's child is strictly forbidden.
- (17) *Cikulume* is the term applied to a father's sister's husband.

The foregoing list of kinship terms indicates the general nature of the scheme of relationships which governs family life among the Ovimbundu. The attitudes existing among certain relatives demand the recognition of definite obligations and privileges, which will be more fully described under the headings of "Family" and "Law."

The Ba-ila of Northern Rhodesia have a well-developed and functioning system of classificatory relationships agreeing in principle but differing in some respects from that of the Ovimbundu. The Umbundu use of different terms for direct and indirect speech obtains also with the Ba-ila, who, in common with the Ovimbundu, have terms of kinship that vary with the relative ages of the speaker and the person addressed. A Ba-ila youth when speaking to his older brother calls him *mukando wangu*, "my great one," but if addressing a younger brother he says *mwanichangu*, "my junior."

Of the four possible cousin marriages the Ba-ila favor only one, namely, marriage with a father's sister's daughter. Marriage with a mother's brother's daughter is not permitted, but among the Ovimbundu this is the enjoined form of union. A man of the Ba-ila calls his father and his father's brothers *tata*, and all the sisters of his father and of his mother are *bama*, meaning "mother." As among the Ovimbundu, the mother's brother is of primary importance in family life because of the reciprocal obligations that exist between him and his sister's children. The Ba-ila use the word *achisha* for direct address of a mother's brother, and when speaking of him they employ the term *uachisha* (E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, 1920, chap. 12).

After giving a list of kinship terms used by the Ashanti, R. S. Rattray (1927a, p. 317) explains the terminology by showing to what



individuals a name is applied, why it is so used, and what marriage laws are involved in this classificatory system of relationships. He refers to a law of cross-cousin marriage whereby a man was enjoined to marry his father's sister's daughter or his mother's brother's daughter. Breach of marriage prohibitions was punished with a death penalty for incest, because marriage taboos were arranged to prevent a person from marrying his or her own *abusua* or *ntoro*, as the matrilineal and patrilineal divisions were respectively called.

There is evidence to show that a maternal uncle is powerful in Ashanti society, which is matriarchal. This relative orders his children to marry his nieces and nephews (sister's children). If his sister's daughter marries his son, then their offspring will possess the maternal uncle's spirit (*ntoro*), and this fact would make it possible to name the child after himself or an ancestor. The maternal uncle uses his authority to arrange a marriage which facilitates reincarnation of a *ntoro* who had been waiting to be born in its own *ntoro* lineage. Ancestor worship and social organization are complementary and mutually dependent in their functioning.

The following explanation indicates a logical connection between Ashanti ideas of conception, reincarnation, totemism, and cross-cousin marriage. *Ntoro*, which can be translated by the word "spirit," is transmitted to offspring by males only, though *ntoro* is present in every male and female. *Abusua*, the "clan" or "blood," can be transmitted by females only, and under no circumstances can a male transmit the *abusua* which he derived from his mother. "No Ashanti can have a drop of the male parent's blood in his or her veins."

The physiological concept postulates that each man and woman has two distinct elements, *abusua* (blood or clan) and *ntoro* (spirit). The *abusua*, which is synonymous with *mogya* (blood), is inherited from the mother only, and clan descent is therefore traced through females only. This maternal element, which is transmitted by and to females only, decides succession to office, the tracing of descent, and the inheritance of property.

At death an *abusua* becomes a *saman* or ghost which lives in the world of spirits, awaiting reincarnation through some woman of its own blood and clan. The *ntoro* does not accompany the *saman* to the spirit world but becomes a spirit called *obosom* and is reincarnated through any male of the *ntoro* to which it once belonged (L. H. D. Buxton and R. S. Rattray, 1924, p. 83).

TABLE 10  
OVIMBUNDU, MALE SPEAKER'S DIRECT LINE OF RELATIONSHIP

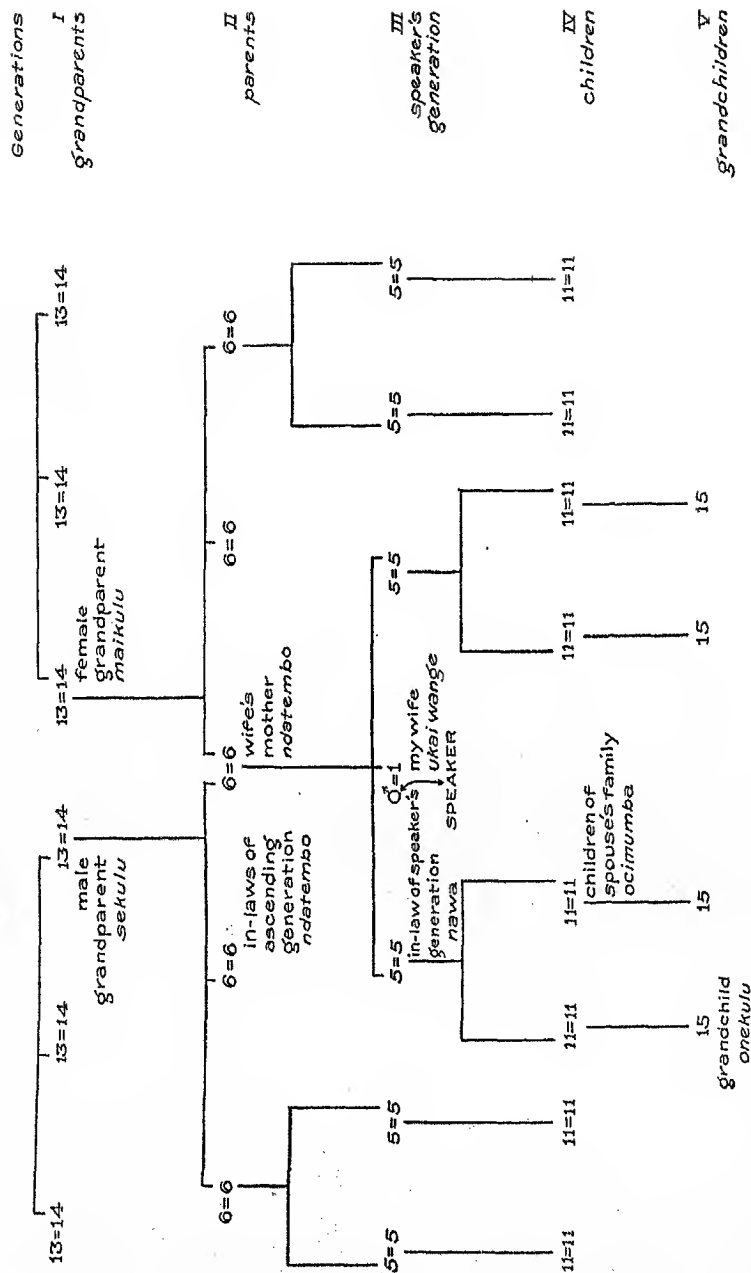
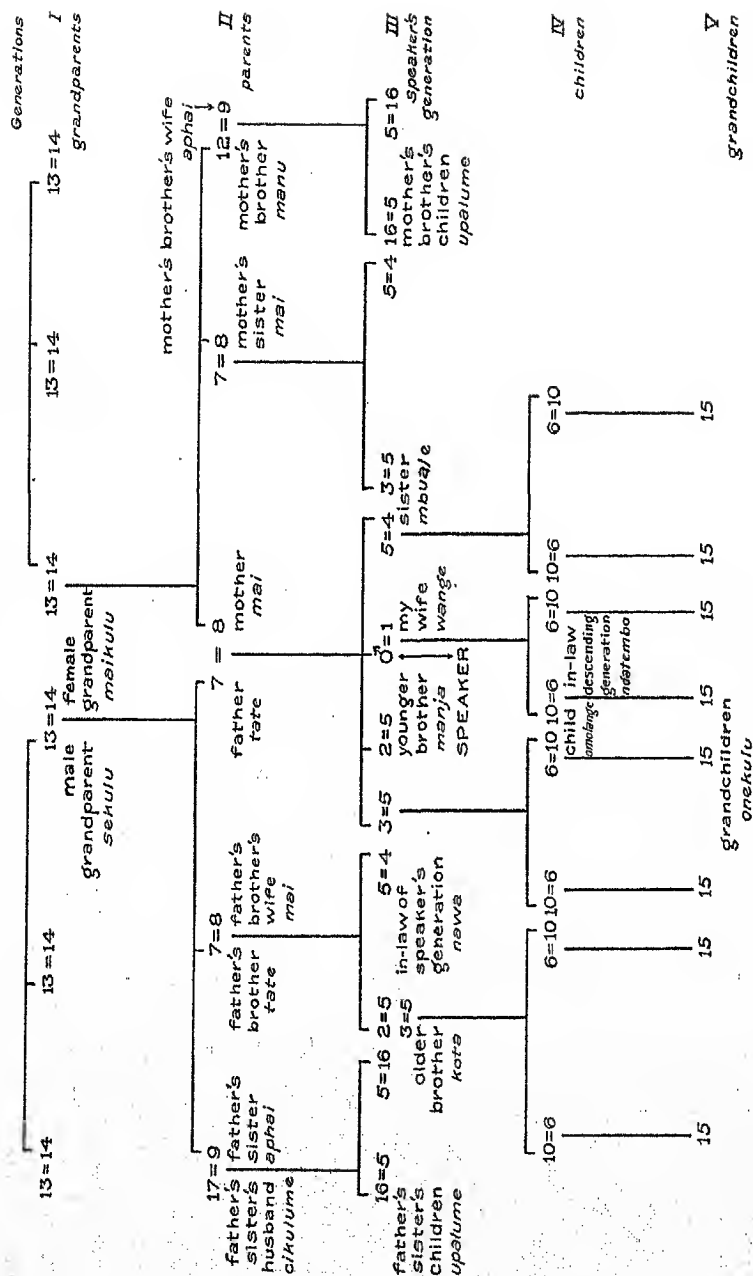


TABLE 11

## OVIMBUNDU, DIRECT LINE OF RELATIONSHIP OF SPEAKER'S WIFE



According to C. G. and B. Z. Seligman (1932, pp. 21-58) present data relating to kinship systems among Nilotic tribes are insufficient for a complete survey, but two types of organization are evident. One system of kinship terminology is distinctly classificatory, the dominant feature being the classification of many relatives under one term. This is best seen among the Nuba and the Ingassana, by whom all cousins, both parallel and cross-cousins, are classed as brothers and sisters. The father's brother is addressed as father, and the mother's sister as mother. The system of the Nilotes presents a marked contrast, since a prominent feature is the accurate description of all relatives. Such a system may conveniently be called descriptive, and the result of such a scheme is to distinguish with great precision between each kind of cousin and nephew. Certain customs among the Nilotic Negroes—Nuer, Shilluk, and Dinka—seem closely correlated with the descriptive system.

In considering kinship systems of African Negroes, the facts which are observed today require explanation along historical, psychological, and sociological lines. A comparison of the kinship systems of the Nandi, Masai (Half-Hamites), and Bathonga (southeastern Bantu), "shows some striking points of resemblance which can be explained by the prevalence among all three peoples of a particular type of marriage, apparently dependent on the payment of bride price." The system of the Nandi has certain classificatory features combined with traits of the descriptive system (B. Z. Seligman, 1917, No. 46).

The Semites had a classificatory system the operation of which has been modified by Mohammedan influence. Islamic law encourages marriage between ortho-cousins (children of two brothers or two sisters), an enjoined form of marriage which is the opposite of the cross-cousin system which prevails in many Negro tribes (B. Z. Seligman, vol. 3, 1924b, pp. 51-68, 261-279).

The blending of elements from kinship systems, which have presumably had different origins and histories, is demonstrated in F. R. Rodd's (1926, p. 150) report of social organization among the Tuareg (Northern Hamites). The Tuareg of Air reckon succession to office in the male line. But the mother's brother is important in family life, and descent is traced through females. Some aspects of the system are typical of Negroes who have a system of reckoning descent, succession, and inheritance through females; but other traits of the Tuareg organization are of the patriarchal type (see section II, chap. 4).

Like other cultural phenomena, types of social organization are subject to change, old traits disappear, and new ones are introduced. R. S. Rattray (1932a, vol. 1, p. 4) points out that among some tribes of the Northern Territories cross-cousin marriages, which, with rare exceptions, are no longer permitted by tribal custom, were once the common form of union. The nature of cultural processes in relation to kinship and marriage is illustrated by B. Z. Seligman's article "Marital Gerontocracy in Africa" (1924a, pp. 231-250). The thesis states that a system of marriage (gerontocracy) between persons separated by two generations has intimate association with cross-cousin marriage. Both types of marriage are the result of conflict between patrilineal and matrilineal principles. There is also a connection between marital gerontocracy and the reincarnation of spirits in the second generation.

#### SUMMARY AND READING

Despite the differences in kinship systems the data confirm the presence of certain fundamental similarities, especially in the classificatory systems of Bantu Negroes. The resemblances are true homologies which deeply affect both the structure and the function of social life in all its aspects. The structure of the classificatory system has been considered by quoting kinship terms and explaining their connotation. The functional aspect of the kinship system can now be shown in relation to the family and the clan.

Valuable data relating to kinship terms have been contributed by C. Bullock (1928, p. 235), C. M. Doke (1931c, pp. 199-202), E. D. Earthy (1933, pp. 11-18), E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1929, No. 148; 1932, No. 7), H. A. Junod (1912, vol. 1, p. 221), P. Kirchoff (1932, pp. 184-191), A. L. Kroeber (1909), R. H. Lowie (1916a), J. Roscoe (1911, pp. 128-132), M. Sanderson (1923), C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, (numerous papers on kinship systems of Africa), H. A. Stayt (1931a, pp. 181-184), N. J. van Warmelo (1932), J. H. Weeks (1909, p. 439). Useful studies of kinship terms, attitudes, and behavior, and their social implications have been made by B. W. Aginsky (1935a and b), A. M. Hocart (1937), and F. Eggan (1937, pp. 41-58).

#### THE FAMILY

When studying the behavior pattern within a family, and the extension of this pattern to larger units such as the village and the clan, the following considerations are of primary importance. Analysis of social attitudes implies a psychological study of the reactions of individuals toward one another, and toward their kindred.

E. E. Evans-Pritchard defines an attitude as "an enduring, stereotyped, and socially-compelled behavior pattern, together with its concomitant psychological processes, both in the conscious (sentiments) and in the unconscious (complexes)." (Man, 1932, No. 7.) These attitudes may be characterized by reciprocal aid, deference, affection, fear, or avoidance. In addition to this aspect of the sociological problem, attention should be paid to the type of inheritance, reckoning descent, and succession to office which prevail in a given locality. The place of family residence, either with the kindred of the father or of the mother, is likewise important as a controlling factor of the social pattern. According to A. R. Radcliffe Brown (1924, pp. 542-555), a society may be called patriarchal when descent is patrilineal, marriage is patrilocal, and the authority over members of the family is in the hands of the father or his relatives. When descent is matrilineal, marriage is matrilocal, and the authority is exercised by the mother and her kindred, the society is matriarchal. Usually elements of both systems are present, that is to say, the system is bilateral. A complete and practical acquaintance with all these data would furnish an explanation of social phenomena which today are not thoroughly understood.

Before describing concrete examples of family, clan, and village organization, consideration should be given to certain hypotheses, without which the observed facts appear as unexplained vagaries of human conduct.

Historical explanations of conduct and attitudes have been based on the supposition that some of the social phenomena observed today are merely the result of a conflict between two systems, the patriarchal and the matriarchal. And, in accordance with historical hypotheses, the attitude of children toward their mother's brother, likewise his reciprocal treatment, involving both privileges and obligations, is the result of a matriarchal system which may have been to some extent obscured by a patriarchal system.

Modern hypotheses tend toward the refutation of historical explanations by a closer study of behavior and an endeavor to analyze the motives that determine conduct. E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1929, No. 148; 1932, No. 7) points out that a man's patterns of behavior toward his kindred are built up in the family organization into which he is born and in which he grows up. During early years of childhood, sentiments are formed in relation to a father, mother, brothers, and sisters. A boy's attitude toward his mother and her kindred, especially her brothers, may be determined by the attitude

of his father toward his mother. The patterns of behavior which a man observes toward his kindred, toward the female sex, and in relation to governing bodies, are the result of sentiments and attitudes that originated in the family, Grébert (1932, 1937).

The same opinion was previously expressed by A. R. Radcliffe Brown (1924, pp. 542-555), when he noted a tendency to extend to all the members of a group a certain type of behavior which had its origin in a relationship to one particular member of the group. A boy who receives care and indulgence from his mother expects similar treatment from the people of his mother's group, but to the paternal kindred a boy has feelings of deference, a tendency to obedience, and even a definite fear, if these traits have been present in his attitude toward his father. Using data from H. A. Junod's "The Life of a South African Tribe," A. R. Radcliffe Brown shows that these attitudes extend into religion. The maternal gods and the maternal ancestors are more tender and more popular than those on the father's side. With these hypotheses and general concepts in mind, a more concrete study of family life is desirable.

A restricted family of the Ovimbundu consists of a man, his wife (or wives), and their unmarried children. If the marriage is monogamous all members of the family inhabit one hut, but if the family is polygynous each wife has a hut where she lives with her children, does her cooking, and receives her husband on his periodical visits. Associated with this family there may be pawns who are in temporary residence to work off a debt, either for themselves or for a maternal uncle. In former days the family might include slaves who had been purchased or captured in warfare, and some adopted or inherited children may be present. These additions to a restricted family lead to the formation of a household.

Like many Bantu Negroes, the Ovimbundu are a patrilocal people; therefore, a male brings his bride to the village where his father lives, and usually close to the paternal home. Among the Ovimbundu an extended family, having patrilocal residence, includes married sons with their wives and dependent children, and also supplementary individuals such as those mentioned in the preceding paragraph. These persons who constitute the extended family occupy land which was allotted by the *sekulu* (village chief or headman) when the village was founded. When an Ovimbundu uses the words *epata lia tate* (or *aluse*), he means "family of my father," that is, the group of persons with whom he has blood relationship on his father's side. The words *epata lia mai* (or *oroluina*) indicate the

mother's blood relatives, and the interpretation is "family of my mother."

But, despite this clear recognition of the two families, commoners of the Ovimbundu remember little of their genealogy, perhaps no more than the grandparent class of relatives. Yet they remember names on both the father's and the mother's side; that is, they trace their descent bilaterally. In the families of chiefs and kings, descent is traced through both male and female ancestors, provided the father married a woman of the ruling house. This he is supposed to do when taking a first wife, but later he may marry commoners, and the offspring of these will trace descent through their father only, since their mother, who is a commoner, will know little of her genealogy.

Sentiments and attitudes within a polygynous family were indicated by the terms which Ngonga, my informant, used. A wife of Ngonga's father, other than his uterine mother, is called *mai yesepakai*; that is, "the mother who is jealous of my mother." *Mai* means "mother," and the remainder of the term is a derivative from the word *esepa*, meaning "woman's jealousy." There is a distinct word for man's jealousy, and in explaining this, Ngonga said, "When I see my wife look at another man, I have *ukuelume* (man's jealousy) in my heart." If on the death of Ngonga's father his mother married again, this male would be called by Ngonga "*tate yesepakai*" (the father who is jealous). A wife calls the children of her husband, who are not her own, *omala vesepakai*; that is, "the children who are jealous of the other children."

The most important of the attitudes relating to marriageability is revealed by consideration of the kinship terms for father and mother, and the words which are used to designate their children. Ngonga uses the term *mai*, mother, for his mother's sisters, and thinks of them as his mothers, while the word *tate* is used, not only for the father, but also for the father's brothers. Ngonga said, "My mother's sister's children, and my father's brother's children are my brothers and sisters. To marry one of them would make me *ocinyama*, that is, like an animal. People would say 'you have shamed the family.'" The terms for ortho-cousins are the same as for uterine brothers and sisters, and possibly the attitude toward these relatives has developed to prevent a brother-sister type of incest.

In common with most Negro tribes, the Ovimbundu have definite rules of avoidance which determine the attitudes of children toward their parents-in-law. If a son-in-law meets his mother-in-law on the



path, they must pretend not to see each other. Therefore, one steps aside and turns away while the other passes on. If necessity for conversation arises, the two sit facing in opposite directions, or one sits in the hut and the other outside, with the wall between them. These rules apply to a man and his mother-in-law, also to a woman and her father-in-law. A taboo against eating together applies to these relatives. The object of the parent-in-law taboos may be to prevent incest of the parent-child type; various theories have been advanced and these are discussed by Professor R. H. Lowie in "Primitive Society."

The importance of the mother's oldest brother is evident in the family life of the Ovimbundu. Ngonga said that *manu*, which is the name applied to this relative, could pawn his sister's children, so sending them out to work in order to pay his own debts. "But," continued Ngonga, "if I am a thief and escape, it is right that my mother's brother should pay the fine for me." A normal marriage, and one that is enjoined, is that between a man and the daughter of his mother's oldest brother. A father's oldest sister, whom the Ovimbundu call *aphai* (female father), is regarded with the kind of respect which is shown to *manu*, but I was unable to find any specific reciprocal functions between *aphai* and her brother's children.

A family of the Ba-ila (Smith and Dale, 1920, vol. 1, p. 283) is constituted in the way described for the Ovimbundu, and of family life as a social control one may say that parental duties and privileges differ scarcely at all from those prevailing in European families. A strong family affection expresses itself in parental care of children, but the power of the father is limited by clan rules which give to the mother's oldest brother an influence and prerogative greater than that which is exercised by the father himself. Descent is reckoned primarily through the father, so giving a genealogy known as *mukwashi*, while descent through the mother's line is called *mukoa*.

Among the Bakongo the word for family is *vumu*, which literally means "stomach" or "womb." Families are grouped into clans called *ekanda*, each of which has its origin in a woman. "It must be remembered that all relationship is on the mother's side, and with the exception of the father, no paternal relationship has any force." The importance of a maternal uncle is seen by the fact that a suitor does not ask permission from the father of the girl whom he wishes to marry, but he interviews her mother's brother. Since Bakongo descent is reckoned unilaterally, and through the female line, prohibitions of marriage are strict on the mother's side. For example,

marriage is forbidden with maternal cousins, no matter whether they are children of the mother's brothers or of the mother's sisters (J. H. Weeks, 1914, p. 96). The method of reckoning descent and the marriage taboos are linked factors showing a difference between the family organization of the strictly matrilineal Bakongo and the bilateral Ovimbundu.

Examples of family life among Negroes have so far been chosen from Bantu tribes, but to broaden the comparative study instances should be selected from Sudanic Negro tribes of west Africa. Maurice Delafosse (1931, pp. 173-192) makes the general statement that in Negro society of west Africa the rights of a father are inferior to those of a mother's brother. The reckoning of relationship only on the mother's side is widespread and ancient; in fact, this method was at one time the only system of reckoning descent, and the founders of the most illustrious families were women.

But the Wolofs of Senegal have now a system of reckoning descent through males when tracing the genealogies of commoners, yet for the nobility descent is still traced only on the female side. The Walata are Mohammedans, and as such would be likely to favor a method of tracing their lineage through the paternal kindred, yet sons are named after their maternal uncles, from whom they inherit. Moreover, Arab writers of the Middle Ages, when speaking of the important states of Ghana and Manding, record that inheritance was from brother to brother on the mother's side, or from a mother's brother to his sister's son. In addition, Delafosse points out that the Bambara, some of the Mandingo, also the Fulani and the Serer decide rights of inheritance by tracing out relationships through females.

The effect of this matrilineal system on family life is important, for although a family group, consisting of father, mother (or mothers), and their dependent children, exists, the offspring belong to their mother's kindred, and the mother's oldest brother exercises paternal rights over them. Delafosse concludes that "the custom of admitting relationship only on the mother's side must formerly have been universally observed among west African Negroes, and there still exist, at various stages, multiple and undeniable traces of it."

The research of C. K. Meek (1931a, pp. 79-110) among the Jukun-speaking tribes of Nigeria supports the evidence of Delafosse by showing the operation of two systems of family organization, and the transitions that are taking place. The Jibu reckon descent in the female line and practice matrilocal marriage; they also have

a matrilineal system of inheritance. On the contrary, another section of the Jukun is wholly patriarchal, and Meek believes that the later patriarchal system was imposed by the Fulani, who subjugated the Jukun in the nineteenth century. Succession to chieftainship is almost without exception in the male line, yet the Jukun generally reckon rights of inheritance to property through female kindred. The position of the mother's brother is important, and a Jukun says of this relative, "Was it not he who bore me, and am I not his umbilical cord?" In former times, when blood-feuds were rife, a maternal uncle was under obligation to secure revenge for one of the murdered kin.

The functional aspect of kinship terms, and the psychology of family relationships is illustrated by Rattray (1932a, vol. 1, pp. 273-277). The most instructive facts are those relating to the attitudes toward a mother's brother, a father's sister, and a mother-in-law. The way in which sentiments that are primarily directed toward a uterine mother are extended to her kindred is also clearly demonstrated.

It is not unusual for Nankanse children to be brought up in the compound of a maternal uncle (*aseba*), and this is done with the full consent of their natural parents. The attitude toward *aseba* is one which recognizes privileges and obligations; his sister's children help themselves to his possessions, and familiarly call his mother "old grey hairs." The mother's brother is expected to provide a dowry when his sister's son wishes to marry, and, if the dowry is not provided, this youth is entitled to take his mother's brother's cows for the purpose. Nephews and nieces have to assist a maternal uncle with work on his farm, and when the mother's brother dies, his nephew offers sacrifice to the ancestors, asking for material possessions and children. A youth sometimes marries the widow of his mother's brother.

The reciprocal relationship has its counterpart on the father's side of the family. Of the father's sister, the Nankanse say, "She is your father, and came from the same navel string as your father." The name given to a father's sister is *pugera*, and the kind of respect accorded to her is extended to her husband, "who is not to be treated lightly." Marriage with a father's sister's child is prohibited, and for such children the terms for brothers and sisters are used. *Pugera* may become the head of a compound, and as the head of a house she may have the duty of handing property of her dead brother to her brother's son. When a man dies, his *pugera* takes charge of

the funeral customs even if her brothers are alive. *Pugera* may revoke a curse spoken by her brother and not revoked before his death.

Extension of sentiments associated with the term "mother" to the mother's sisters has been mentioned with the data for Bantu Negroes, but a far wider concept of the term is possible. The Nankanse say that "all the women in my mother's town, who are of my mother's age, are my mothers. All the males of my mother's generation are my brothers. The children of these people are my brothers and sisters. All persons who, because of their age and locality, come within the concept of mother and mother's brother are entitled to great respect."

Among western Negroes the mother-in-law taboo is as frequent as with Bantu Negroes. The attitude of the Ashanti toward a mother-in-law is typical of the in-law relationship of parents and children in many tribes. A man may not eat with his mother-in-law or sit on the same mat with her. He may not abuse anyone in her presence, for this would be an attack on the relative herself. A mother-in-law receives presents from her son-in-law at the birth of his first child, and whenever he reaps a crop. A son-in-law may not have sexual relations with his wife, or with any other woman, in the home of his mother-in-law. The fear and respect toward parents-in-law is due to the power they have to take away their daughters if the dowry is not paid. Moreover, parents-in-law, if treated lightly, may influence their daughters to leave the men whom they have married (Rattray, 1932a, vol. 1, p. 274).

The association of attitude and relationship, and the change of sentiments that may occur with altered circumstances, is indicated by the following instance. A male, *A*, did not follow a common custom of marrying his mother's brother's daughter, *B*, but he married his mother's brother's daughter's daughter. The husband of *B* died; then *A* married *B*, who became his wife while at the same time she was his mother-in-law (Rattray, 1927a, p. 99).

The actual functioning of schemes of relationship is not difficult to understand, but the reasons for changes in attitudes and sentiments are not so easy to follow. R. S. Rattray (1932a, vol. 1, p. 273) points out that among the Nankanse inheritance is in the male line, first to brothers, then to sons, while inheritance by a sister's son is exceptional. This seems to be the opposite of the Ashanti system which prevails only a few hundred miles away, for the Ashanti trace inheritance and descent through a sister's son to the exclusion of a

man's own son. "The change over from the so-called 'matrilineal' to a 'patrilineal' way of reckoning has been so comparatively recent, however, as to leave extraordinary survivals of the older institution."

Maurice Delafosse (1931, p. 173) does not favor an explanation of these changes on historical grounds. He says that one might be tempted to believe that the substitution of a paternal for a maternal kinship system is primarily due to the influence of Islam, but the facts contradict this hypothesis. He then gives instances of partially Mohammedanized tribes who retain the chief factors of a matriarchal system. These instances, quoted by Delafosse, do not, in my opinion, refute the historical hypothesis as an explanation of the blendings and substitutions of social organization as seen at present. Mixtures and changes are the logical outcome of a contact of two different types of organization, and one would hardly expect to witness the complete overthrow of an old and well-entrenched matriarchal system, even under a patriarchal Mohammedan conquest.

If historical hypothesis does not account for changes in the system of reckoning descent, inheritance, and succession, together with new attitudes toward certain types of cousin marriage, then the changes are due to some unexplained psychological processes that are taking place within the family itself. When the attitudes and sentiments that characterize a kinship system are actually established, their functioning is understandable, but ethnologists do not know the primary reasons for the establishment of entirely new attitudes. What is there within the family itself, and apart from extraneous contacts, that can bring about a revulsion of feeling toward the former type of cousin marriage, or the operation of a system of descent, inheritance, succession, or matrilineal residence?

Changes in the economic life, or in sex ratios, might possibly influence a social system, but so far the changing conditions remain unexplained, unless one accepts the hypothesis of a clash of two different systems which originated in different places, at different times, and under different circumstances.

To the subject of social organization and kinship, H. von Baumann (1926) has contributed a long and detailed study of father-right and mother-right in Africa. E. Burton has written on the social organization of the Baluba, and P. A. W. Cook on that of the Bomvana. E. J. Krige's (1936b) social study of the Zulus is a comprehensive work. H. S. Mekeel (1937) has written on the social administration of the Kru of Liberia. A. I. Richards (1934) has an essay on "Mother Right among the Central Bantu." Rivers' (1924) work on "Social

Organization" is a useful background for African and other regional studies of this subject. F. de Zeltner (1908) has reported on the sociology of the western Sudan.

#### CLANS AND TOTEMS

These units of social organization are based on family systems of inheritance and succession, whereby children take the clan and totem of their father or mother. Consequently we have to consider the extension of family attitudes to wider groups. The structure of clans, which in some Negro tribes are totemic, together with the social and religious functions of these units, will now be considered in relation to Bantu, Sudanic, and Nilotic Negroes.

A word of warning to students of totemism is necessary. Rattray (1936, p. 19) states:

"Anthropologists have been over-ready, I believe, to range all over the uncivilized world, and seek for, or imagine that they ought to find a kind of *genus Americanus Totemi*. I doubt if we should even always be justified in labelling as a species or sub-species of our orthodox totemic conception many institutions which at first sight seem to bear some resemblance to it.

"I should, therefore, make it a first principle to treat every manifestation of totemic symptoms in Africa on its own merits. I should advise an approach to all such phenomena with a very open mind. I should carry this good resolution to the point of being prepared to discard the term "totemism" altogether, where what is found bears only a superficial resemblance to what the word implies in its original home."

For a discussion of the meaning of totemism and the tendency to confuse animal cults, and reverence for certain animals with totemism, A. A. Goldenweiser (1910, pp. 179-293), R. H. Lowie (1911, pp. 189-207), and Boas (1916) on the "Origin of Totemism" should be consulted. J. G. Frazer's (1910) studies range over the world for comparative data, a method criticised by Goldenweiser (1910). One of the main objections to Frazer's method is the use of an undefined and too comprehensive term for the classification of many beliefs and customs that are radically different.

#### BANTU TOTEMS AND CLANS

I was unable to find among the Ovimbundu of Angola any functioning of a clan or totemic system, but by inference from the nature of their family organization and the frequency of clans and totems among the Bantu, the Ovimbundu probably had a clan organization

which has fallen into desuetude as a result of four centuries of European contacts. But a few hundred miles to the east of the Ovimbundu, the Ba-ila have totemic clans that are named after animals and plants, including the duiker antelope, lions, pigeons, and the baobab tree (Smith and Dale, 1920, vol. 1, p. 289).

Totemic clans of the Ba-ila have a social function as exogamic units. Members of different clans, though living in the same village, may marry, but members of the same totemic clans are not allowed to marry even though they live great distances apart. The totem animal is not to be eaten by members of the clan because the animal is a kinsman. This prohibition is still observed by old men, but the young men are disregarding the taboo, so providing an instance of the decline of totemism as a social control. A child, whether male or female, takes the mother's clan and totem, and, as previously noted, descent is reckoned in both the male and female lines. Mutual aid between clan members and also a sense of communal responsibility within the clan are strongly developed. The clans of the Ba-ila are mutual-aid societies whose members are pledged to give reciprocal assistance in redeeming debts, avenging murder, and extending hospitality to all members of the clan.

Of the Bakongo tribe, J. H. Weeks (1914, pp. 96, 307) states that clans are not localized, each in its own area, but that any village is likely to contain members of several clans. The existence of totemism is uncertain, yet the Bakongo speak of the "cowrie people," the mole-cricket people," and the "tortoise people." At the present time, no inflexible rule exists with regard to the marital relationships of two clans, but there prevails a general understanding respecting the inter-clan marriages which are permissible or disapproved.

The social organization of the Baganda (northeastern Bantu) includes broad kinship divisions, each of which receives the name *kika* (clan). The origin of this unit is traced to one ancestor, and all members of a *kika* have two common totems, of which one is the principal and the other subsidiary. Both the totems are sacred, and for this reason members are forbidden to kill or eat their totemic animals. All men of the same generation and of the same *kika* are called brothers, and all women of the same generation and the same clan are sisters. Children apply the name of father to all their clansmen of a generation older than themselves, and all women of that generation are called mother. One of the names given to a child indicates the clan to which it belongs. In former times, all the clans, with one exception, were exogamous, yet there was a practice of

taking a second wife from the paternal grandmother's clan, and this spouse had special family functions in relation to her husband; for example, she was responsible for the custody of clippings from his hair and nails. A wife adopts her husband's totems but does not discard her own, and children are taught to respect the totems of both their father and their mother. Yet children are allowed to disregard their father's totem when they have reached adult age. Descent is reckoned on the father's side of the family, and every child takes his or her father's clan and totem. But an exception is made in the royal family, in which each prince belongs to the clan of his mother and takes his mother's totem. (J. Roscoe, 1911, pp. 133-185).

Clan organization among the Baganda has effects other than those affecting marriage and family organization. Civil administration is based on the *kika* and its subdivisions. The first of these is a *sigá*, ruled over by a chief who is regarded as a clan father, since he hears complaints and tries delinquents. An *enda* is a subdivision of a *sigá*. The chief of an *enda* has judicial power, though members tried by him have rights of appeal to the chief of a *sigá*, and from that person appeal can be made to the head of a *kika*. The religious aspect of clan organization is shown by the fact that the chief of each *kika* has a priestly office by virtue of his custody of the clan god and the temple used for worship.

In addition to affecting legal procedure, religious observances, and family life, the clans had at one time specific functions in relation to the king, who was supreme ruler. Members of the Lion clan had charge of certain small, sacred drums; these clansmen did no work for the king in his royal enclosure because they were related to him. The Colobus Monkey clan gave the king his chief butler and provided also a man who had charge of the king's drinking water. From this clan was chosen a potter who made the royal cooking vessels. The chief duty of the Otter clan was to make barkcloths and to supply the king with one of his wives, whose duty it was to make the royal bed; this was a hereditary office.

#### SUDANIC TOTEMS AND CLANS

The nature and meaning of clan organization in west Africa has been examined by M. Delafosse (1931, pp. 192-200), who states that a clan is an ensemble of the families of a distant ancestor, but a clan division may or may not be totemic. If the members of a clan are not too widely scattered, they may retain some cohesion by



acknowledgment of one headman, but traditions have become obscured, until at last the dispersed members of a clan cease to know each other. In some instances, the name of a man recalls his former clan membership; thus, among the Mandingo the personal name San Bamba means San of the Bamba clan. A legend or a surviving prohibition sometimes points to the former existence of a clan; for example, the Diara men of the Mandingo have respect for a lion ancestor, who was suckled by a lioness because his mother had no milk. A clan taboo generally means that members of the clan have to refrain from killing or eating the emblem animal of their clan, and usually clan exogamy is practiced when clans are functioning.

Professor D. Westermann (1921, pp. 54-57; 87; 216-219) has reported several important aspects of totemism and clan organization in Liberia. Among the Kpelle, totemism is of two kinds, individual and collective, so that in addition to having a clan totem a man has his personal emblem, which may be either a plant or an animal. If a man regards the leopard as his personal totem, he reverences all leopards and regards them as friends and helpers. He must not injure a leopard and may not eat its flesh. If he finds a dead leopard, he is under obligation to bury it. Other personal totems are the elephant, several kinds of antelope, the banana tree, the kola-nut tree, and the oil palm. Both personal and clan totems are transmitted from father to son and from mother to daughter, and each totem has a mythology to explain its origin and history. Westermann regards totemism as part of a complex religious belief, and the social importance of totemism is shown by prohibition of marriage between clan members of the same totem.

The data so far considered have usually shown that clan membership does not imply a particular local residence; on the contrary, clan members are scattered throughout many villages. But among the Kpelle there are instances of one totemic clan occupying a village to the exclusion of all other totems, and under such organization the head of the totemic clan is the village headman. All children belong to their mother's clan. Westermann has called attention to the need for greater precision in the use of the word totemism. He notes that some creatures whose flesh is forbidden are not totemic. In his discussion of totemism among tribes of the western Sudan, J. Brun (1910, pp. 844-870) has pointed out the need for careful discrimination between the several types of belief and ritual associated with animals.

In Ashanti a type of clan organization in which descent, inheritance, and succession are traced through females is fundamental to all laws regulating the succession of kings, disposal of property, marriage, and the functioning of a classificatory kinship system. R. S. Rattray says, "If a woman married twenty husbands in succession, and these were of every possible clan, all the children would be of her own blood and her own clan."

Totemism is one aspect of the *ntoro* divisions, of which Rattray notes nine. Each of these nine divisions has a principal totem and several subsidiary totems. The Bosommuru is one of the most important divisions of *ntoro*, which is a word describing the exogamic divisions to one of which each Ashanti belongs. Connected with the Bosommuru *ntoro* division is the following legend of origin in a mythical ancestor, the python, which was the founder of the clan.

In remote times two people who had no children lived by Lake Bosommuru, where a python sent by the sky god sprayed them with water and told them to lie together. The woman conceived and gave birth to the first children in the world; therefore, the python is an ancestor with whom the Bosommuru people claim relationship. To their principal totem, the python, they show respect by refusing to kill the reptile or to eat the flesh. A dead python must be ceremonially buried by the Bosommuru people. The rite known as "washing the *ntoro*" is a ceremonial cleansing of members of the python totem, who then partake of a ritual meal. When a woman marries, she takes all her husband's *ntoro* taboos as her own (Rattray, Ashanti, 1923, pp. 47-49; 52-53).

With regard to the Nankanse, Rattray (1932a, vol. 1, pp. 234-236) points out that the tribe is now composed of twenty-six or more clans, and from these he selects the Leopard clan as a typical example of clan organization. The Leopard clan, which has a legendary history of origin and descent, is divided into three main subsections, each of which traces descent from one of three half-brothers by the same father but by different mothers. This father was the founder of the Leopard clan.

Members of this clan state that when an old man is about to die a leopard is seen in the compound, and the deceased "rises up" as a leopard. Women and children who have not begun to observe the clan taboos do not turn into leopards when they die. On the death of a clansman, a fowl is killed and part of the bird is buried with the corpse. Usually a clansman will not kill a leopard, and if he does so because of the animal's depredations a ceremony will be

performed at a sacred grove. A dead leopard must be buried by those members of the clan who find it. Two of the important points established by Rattray's observations are the formation of new subtotems, and the localized residence of members of a clan. The present tendency is for clan reserves to become more cosmopolitan, but clan exogamy still prevails with some modification. A wife keeps the taboos of her own and her husband's clan, and a husband respects his wife's taboos. "Descent in these clans is patrilineal. Females, equally with males, fall into clans, taking as they do that of the father, but they are unable to transmit their clan to their children, who inherit, or *are initiated or adopted into*, that of the male parent."

Evidence respecting the structure and function of totemic clans in Nigeria is indefinite. The Yoruba use a word *orile*, which is said to have a totemic significance in relation to a family. Some families claim descent from a totem animal, while others state that their totems were ancient family gods who granted fecundity and other blessings. Totems include the elephant; Ogun, the god of war; and Agbo, a ram. Information is meager, but apparently both boys and girls took their father's totem. A woman could not adopt her husband's totem, and marriage of members of the same totem was forbidden.

C. K. Meek (1931, pp. 74-78) describes sacred animals, including crocodiles and manatees, whose flesh may not be eaten, while these sacred animals must be accorded burial and mourning rites. Yet this is not totemism, since the sacred animals are not emblems of clans; neither are they individual totems. The creatures belong to a large class of revered animals, some of which have a legendary history indicating their service to the country. Again, a hunter may perform rites to destroy the power of the soul of an animal he has killed, but this practice has no connection with totemism. That family groups of the Jukun may originally have formed clans seems probable, but the social organization is now so indeterminate that the previous existence of a totemic clan organization is doubtful.

A widespread occurrence of totemic ideas in northern Nigeria leads to the conclusion that "society was, at one time, among many of the tribes, probably organized on a totemic basis." At the present time, many tribes are organized into exogamous clan-divisions which are frequently totemic. The Mahalbawa of Katsina, the Rumawa of Kano, also the Durbawa and Yan Gido of Katsina, were exogamous, since men of the clan would not marry women of the same totem

as themselves. The researches of C. K. Meek emphasize the importance of local exogamy, "presumably on grounds of original kinship relationship." The Kona and Pongo forbid marriage between people of the same section of a village; and among the Nasarawa, organization for marriage purposes is on a territorial and not a totemic basis. Exogamous rules are enforced between villages (C. K. Meek, 1925, vol. 1, pp. 185-187).

According to H. Labouret (1931, pp. 222-250), certain western Sudanic tribes, the Lobi, Birifor, Dian, and Gan, are divided each into four sections, and each of these tribal divisions may be considered as a clan. Subclans are distinguished by the names of animals which may not be killed or eaten by members of the subclan. But in some subclans the prohibitions have completely disappeared, though legendary histories of subclan origins still persist. Apparently there is no initiation into a clan, neither does clan exogamy exist, but exogamic rules forbid marriage between members of the same subclan. Labouret is uncertain whether the concept of a totemic clan is disintegrating or is in process of formation.

It is not impossible that in different regions, or even in the same localities, the two processes of disintegration and formation of new social elements and usages are simultaneously active, so giving rise to types of organization which are not readily explained on either historical or psychological grounds.

Yet, despite differences in the data considered, the main functions of clans and totems are clear. The evidence has indicated that these units affect tribal structure, possibly the place of residence, and the extension of kinship concepts from the family outward to broader groups. Totemic clan organization has a bearing on mythology, personal attitudes, collective responsibility, marriage, descent, inheritance, succession, and the discharge of religious observances, including sacrifice and funeral rites. These aspects of clan organization observed among Bantu and Sudanic Negroes are not incompatible with the functions of the clan among Nilotic Negroes.

#### NILOTIC NEGRO TOTEMS AND CLANS

In the Lango tribe (Driberg, 1923, p. 190) the clan at one time functioned as a unit for the communal ownership of land; the functional basis of the clan appears to have been territorial. At present this function of the clan survives, as may be seen by the fact that a person who is alien to the clan has to make a present to the head of the clan, in return for which he receives a tenancy and equal

rights in the usufruct of the land, without being a member of the clan itself. But a village, and not a clan territory, is now the unit of tribal life.

The Lango do not retain a clear conception of the origin of their clan system, but say that clan divisions were founded by remote ancestors. The clan system is based on prohibitions and requirements. Members of the Monkey clan mourn as for a man if a monkey is killed. If a member of the Duiker clan kills one of these antelopes, the clan buries it, mourns, and covers the grave with leaves. The clans are exogamous, and marriage is forbidden within either the maternal or the paternal clans. When a woman marries, she observes the rules of her husband's clan and continues to do so even after she is divorced. Up to the time of puberty no boy may eat the flesh of his totem animal, and females of all ages must observe this taboo toward their totem animals.

The religious function of clan organization is emphasized by the evidence of Driberg, since several clans have special privileges and obligations connected with rain-making—the most important religious rite of the Lango tribe. Making of ceremonial weapons called "rain-spears" is the prerogative of the clan Jo Angodya, whose blacksmiths manufacture these articles free of charge. An old man of this clan washes the spear in water which has been blessed with his spittle, and then he prays, "May the harvest be a rich one." The Jo Inomo clan has the duty of sacrificing a he-goat and a ram, which are contributed by a particular family. The Jo Atengoro clan performs a ceremony to ward off attacks of locusts (Driberg, 1923, p. 250).

The probability is that in former times all clans were totemic, but at present clans show a tendency to subdivide as a result of migrations, warfare, and dissensions. These subclans allow intermarriage of their members, although these trace their descent from one clan. The conditions suggest a breaking down of the controls of clan and totemic organization. But what is true for one tribe does not apply generally. K. G. Lindblom (1916, p. 107) says of the Akamba (Bantu), "The clan system does not seem to be by any means an antiquated institution, but is still vigorous, and new clans often spring up."

The Dinka are divided into exogamous clans, each of which has a totem animal that is regarded as an ancestor. In addition to his clan totem, a man may have a personal totem; this is usually an animal which he treats with respect because of a mystical relationship between them. Children take the totem of their father, but they also

respect the taboos relating to their mother's totem. Among the Lotuka-speaking tribes, exogamous, totemic clans exist. Members of these clans trace descent in the male line, and at death they are reincarnated in totemic animals (C. G. Seligman, 1912, p. 705).

Clan organization and totemism are known among some of the Half-Hamites. According to A. C. Hollis (1909, p. 6), each clan of the Nandi has one or more totem animals, among which are the leopard, grasshopper, spotted sheep, and goat. Each of these animals is a family totem, and although persons with the same family totem may not marry, marriage within a clan is permissible. In former times, killing of a totem animal was punishable by death or banishment from the clan, and all the cattle of the defaulter were confiscated. At the present time, and especially among young men, an apology to the slain totemic animal is said to be sufficient redress. Therefore, a Nandi who has killed his totemic elephant says, "I am sorry, I mistook you for a rhinoceros."

#### JOKING RELATIONSHIP

A joking relationship between members of certain clans of the same tribe is a social phenomenon that has been mentioned by several ethnologists, but the subject has not been thoroughly investigated. Data relating to a joking relationship between certain individuals who have a definite place in a scheme of kinship have been mentioned, and there is a probability that joking relationships between clans is merely an extension of the "respect attitude" existing between persons within a family. See F. Eggan (1937, pp. 75-81).

A typical example of joking between individuals is given by C. K. Meek (1931, pp. 115-117). Among the Jukun, a certain kind of banter is indulged in between a man and his sister-in-law, whom he may one day inherit as a wife if his brother predeceases him. A man says to his sister-in-law, "You know I don't think much of your cooking, and if you don't improve, I'll have to drive you out and marry someone else." To this the sister-in-law replies, "If you got rid of me, there isn't another woman in the whole world who would think of marrying you." Meek examines joking relationships between various relatives in the Jukun and other Nigerian tribes. Where such an attitude of familiarity exists between grandchildren and grandparents, a concept of reincarnation may be the psychological explanation; on the contrary, the prevalence of a junior and a senior levirate may account for some of the joking relationships.

Henri Labouret (1929, pp. 244-254) has described a joking relationship between clans of the Mandingo, Fulani, and Yorof tribes.

He points out the gradual extension of this type of relationship from cousins to clans within a tribe, and between representatives of friendly tribes. Among two clans of the Yolof, the joking relationship implies the existence of duties of a reciprocal kind. One clan serves the other at Mohammedan festivals by killing animals for a feast and cooking the meat. Of the two joking clans, one is subservient to the other, and the servants in return for presents take charge of sowing, harvesting, and the sale of produce for their employers.

Some tribes of northern Ashanti have a privileged familiarity between certain relatives. A joking relationship may exist between grandparents and grandchildren on both the father's and the mother's side. A child will inquire when a grandparent intends to die, will spread false reports of the death of this relative, will abuse him, take food without asking, and play practical jokes. Privileged familiarity exists between the tribes Nankanse, Dagomba, and Moshi, whose members spread false news which sometimes states that a chief of one of the tribes has died (R. S. Rattray, 1932a, vol. 1, p. 8; vol. 2, pp. 336, 390).

#### BLOOD BROTHERHOOD

Another concomitant of social organization is blood brotherhood, which has not been thoroughly studied. The rites of the brotherhood (drinking milk and blood; sucking, smearing and eating kola nuts) are well known, and the distribution of the practices has been plotted (Frobenius, 1922), but only recently has attention been paid to the psychological and social implications of the practice. Among the Ovimbundu, a blood compact is sometimes made secretly between husband and wife, but more commonly in Negro tribes the alliance is made between village headmen, heads of clans, or tribal chiefs.

The Bangala commonly observed a blood brotherhood between headmen of villages. J. H. Weeks (1909, p. 444) states that "all the important men of the district had many cicatrices on their arms, indicating the frequency with which they had performed this ceremony." The effect of the rite is to stop feuds and to cause the contracting persons to act as blood relations. Men who performed the rite were supposed to warn each other of danger, to hold property in common, like members of a family, and to lend without interest and without asking for repayment. A blood brotherhood was often made between headmen of villages.

When discussing blood brotherhood among the Zande, E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1933, pp. 370-402) points out that drinking the blood of each other may seal an individual pact, or the rite may

imply a bond between two social groups of which the two participants are members. Is the rite a bond of true kinship? Is the alliance based on homeopathic principles of magic or on the mechanism of the curse? Are we to regard this exchange of blood chiefly as a personal act or as a collective bargain? The answer to these questions asked by Evans-Pritchard will depend on the locality and particular rite which is under consideration. The blood rite between husband and wife, as practiced by the Ovimbundu, is a purely personal matter, and the main idea involved is one of contagious magic, for the two believe that death of one will result in death of the other. On the other hand, the instances of blood brotherhood cited by J. H. Weeks show that the Bangala regard the exchange of blood as a contract between social groups, which are represented by their leaders who make the exchange. J. Raum (1907) has discussed the subject of blood brotherhood and the ceremonial use of spittle among the Wachagga. Other contributions to the subject of blood brotherhood are those of A. M. Hocart (1935), F. L. Williams (1935), and P. Hazoumé (1937). J. H. Driberg (1935, No. 110) has contributed an article concerning a relationship known as the "best friend."

The evidence has indicated that among some tribes a clan organization has a territorial, exogamic, and totemic basis. A clan unit may coincide with a village unit, or each of several subclans may be restricted to a definite part of the same village. This territorial basis of the clan is, however, by no means general, and village life as an institution, which can and actually does function apart from clan or totemic organization, will be investigated (p. 495).

For the further study of totemism, B. Ankermann (1915) has compiled data relating to the forms and distribution of this institution. In a later publication (1918), Ankermann considers totem cults and beliefs in the soul. C. Bullock (1913) and D. Blackburn (1904, No. 115) have contributed to the study of reverence for animals among the Mashona and Zulu, respectively. P. J. A. Correia (1921-22) published notes on a Nigerian totem, and C. H. Harper has prepared brief notes on totemism on the Gold Coast. Further studies in west Africa have been made by E. R. Langley, who describes the clans of the Kono people of Sierra Leone. R. H. Lowie (1917) has a chapter on African kinship systems in his "Culture and Ethnology." L. P. Mair (1935, No. 71) published notes on totemism among the Baganda, and P. W. Schmidt (1914) made a contribution under the general title, "Das Problem des Totemismus." R. P. H. Trilles (1912b) produced a substantial work on totemism among the Fan (Fang).



P. F. Wolf (1911) examines some factors of totemism in Togoland. Material exists for a more thorough general survey of clans and totems. It is true that more field work is needed, but the data now available have not been fully examined and compared.

#### THE VILLAGE AND THE KINGDOM

The founding of a new village, together with the organization and functions of a village unit among the Ovimbundu, illustrates several important principles of government. Usually a Negro village is a basic unit in law and taxation for which a village headman or minor chief is responsible, while religious observances are often dependent on a medicine-man who has charge of sacred groves, sacred drums, shrines, figurines, and the poison ordeal during litigation. Economically, too, a village is often a self-contained unit, with typical handicrafts, agricultural activities, fishing rights, and a public market. But the headmen of villages are subject to the jurisdiction of a supreme chief or king, for whom they act as intermediaries in legal procedure and taxation.

Among the Ovimbundu, each village is governed by a *sekulu* or petty chief, and a kingdom is formed by a large number of villages having an *osoma* (king or major chief) at the head of the administration. Throughout the country occupied by the Ovimbundu, several *olosoma* rule, each having jurisdiction over a definite area composed of village units. Despite jealousies and even strife, the *olosoma* of the Ovimbundu formerly united both for warfare and for the formation of large caravans which traded far into the interior of Africa.

A capital village where an *osoma* resides is called *ombala*, and the site is usually distinguished by the planting of trees, a custom which is not followed in ordinary villages. In addition to the house of the king (*osoma*), which has to be occupied without repairs until it becomes untenable, there is a house of meditation to which the king retires for communion with ancestral spirits during time of drought. In the *ombala* of Ngalangi, which is influenced by the Vangangella culture, there is a burial hut for kings and their wives, and here a fire is kept burning continually. The house of bows is an important structure associated with ancestor worship. In this hut are kept the sleeping mats, bows and arrows, tobacco pipes, and carved wooden staffs of dead kings. In each village, and not only in the capital village, a house of bows contains similar relics of the village headmen (*olosekulu*). A village must be regarded as a religious as well as an administrative unit.

A new village site may be selected because of epidemic disease or exhaustion of the land, and the choice is made by the *sekulu*, who is accompanied by a medicine-man and several elders. Unpaid, communal labor is employed for constructing the house of a chief or king, the house of bows, the guest house where strangers are accommodated, and the *onjango* or men's house. The *onjango*, where males foregather for their evening meals apart from women, is the focus of village life. Here trials are conducted by the *sekulu*, from whose judgment there is right of appeal to the *osoma*, and here there is discussion touching all matters relating to taxation and village administration.

Land is distributed by a *sekulu* to the heads of families, who among the Ovimbundu are the maternal uncles. A father of a family receives his allotment, not directly, but from his wife's oldest brother. Some villages are not enclosed, but others are stockaded with high poles, and heavy wooden doors are provided at intervals. The interior of a village may or may not be divided by palisades to mark off family divisions. Completion of the site is celebrated by drinking beer and feasting. The beer is stirred with the claws of chickens that have been killed to provide a medicine-man (*ocimbanda*) with blood which he uses for sprinkling the walls of new houses. New fire is made by the *ocimbanda*, who employs the twirling method, although more modern ways of producing fire are known. After fire has been kindled in the house of a *sekulu*, or in the home of the *osoma* if the village is the *ombala*, a distribution of fire is made to every house.

The Ba-ila country of Northern Rhodesia is divided into communities numbering about eighty, and these are strictly demarcated, with a ruling chief for each community and a headman for each village (Smith and Dale, 1920, vol. 1, p. 109; vol. 2, p. 178). This arrangement corresponds to that of the Ovimbundu, with their *osoma* as the head of a large district and a *sekulu* as a village headman. Data relating to the selection of a village site, and the ritual employed in consecrating this, are similar among the Ba-ila and the Ovimbundu. Among the Lambas, villages are of different functional types. In addition to villages ruled by chiefs who are in the direct lineage of chiefs, and those administered by commoners, a certain type of village is known as *ichipembwe*, which is of importance in legal procedure. Such a village is a place of refuge for one who is pursued by an avenger, who must halt outside the village. Within the village the fugitive is caught and tried, but the sanctuary gives him temporary protection (Doke, 1931c, p. 56).

## SUMMARY AND READING

The arrangement of marriage contracts, the founding of a family, the employment of kinship terms, the organization of clans, and the acceptance of village life as a basic unit in government, have illustrated some fundamental practices of Negro society. Despite local differences of procedure, the examples chosen can be regarded as the essentials of social organization among Negro tribes, whose further internal control is affected by the formation of secret societies, age-groups, and customary laws.

The data recorded under "Social Organization" are not merely of academic interest; the importance of the facts is functional rather than historical. Schemes of relationships, family duties, laws of descent, inheritance, and succession, the clan, the village, chieftainship, and the association of religion with all these factors of organization, are of the greatest practical importance in European administration. This has been clearly demonstrated by S. F. Nadel (1935), who has prepared an account of the social organization of the Nupe of Nigeria, with special regard to the family, village communities, the subtribe, the tribe, and the state. He also distinguishes differences between rural and urban organization. His description deals with the social, economic, religious, and political obligations of individuals to these institutions, and the importance of age-grades as a control is stressed. Structurally and functionally, this western Negro organization resembles Bantu examples.

A study of village life has been made by J. Decorse (1905a) for the Congo, and in most ethnological monographs some description of a village community is given. E. D. Earthy (1936) has examined the social structure of a town of the Gbande in Liberia. W. S. Plauen (1929) has described in detail various insignia of chiefs. M. Read (1936) has prepared an article, "Tradition and Prestige among the Ngoni." R. S. Seton (1928) gives an account of the installation of an Attah (ruler) of Idah in Nigeria, and P. H. van Thiel (1911) considers the dynasty of Bahinda. O. G. Williams (1935, No. 130) has published a study of "Village Organization among the Sukuma." C. D. Forde (1937a) has considered "Social Change in a West African Village Community." See also P. von Werder (1937), and E. J. Krige (1936b, pp. 42-52). As with other subjects, data for study of the village community and chieftainship are available, but tedious work is necessary to classify the facts, and political experiment is now needed to harmonize African procedure with methods of European administration.

## IV. SOCIAL CONTROLS

### SECRET SOCIETIES

Criticism directed against an undefined use of the word "totemism" also applies to the term "secret society." Since any secluded concourse of people is a secret gathering, the words have been vaguely used to describe different types of organization.

Ethnology deals with complicated psychological processes, and with institutions whose structures and functions are intimately associated; therefore, clearly cut divisions such as secret societies, age-grades, and legal codes are not to be expected. For example, a secret society may prove to be an organization which has its inception in puberty rites, and the structure of the secret society may depend on the grouping of members according to their ages. Moreover, a society of this kind often has legal functions to perform. Hence, there is a blending of institutions and their functions. But, despite the difficulty of separating and defining the controlling agencies of Negro society, there is the possibility of studying concrete examples to show how the controls function.

The type of secret society now under consideration has a distribution from Sierra Leone through west Africa into Nigeria, the Cameroons, and the forest region of the River Congo. Secret societies may be ancient or modern. They are usually formed either for men or for women only, and one of their functions is the preservation of sex prerogatives and the sex dichotomy which is characteristic of tribal life. But E. de Jonghe (1907, 1936) points out that the sexes are not always separated when secret societies are formed. The lower Congo region has a society called *nkimba*, from which women are excluded; yet there is the *ndembo*, to which women are admitted together with the men.

The standing of a member within a society usually depends on social position outside the society, and on the possession of sufficient wealth to pay for initiation from one grade to another within the society. Interference in politics and trade with a view to giving members of the secret society special privileges is a common practice of secret organizations, and in some regions officers of the society may act not only as judges of those who have offended the society but also as executioners.

Secret societies have at times exerted their influence to place a check on the despotism of a native ruler. Again, officers of the society

have by terrorism upheld tribal laws, and in doing so extortionate methods have been used, especially against persons who were not members of the society. But if the European concept of law can be forgotten in order to regard secret societies from an African point of view, a functional value must be granted to the native institution. No doubt, in certain stages of social development, secret societies served as a crude but necessary form of social control, though their procedure cannot now be tolerated by European governments.

A report on the Leopard Society of Sierra Leone (D. Burrows, vol. 13, 1913, pp. 143-151) indicates that human sacrifice and ceremonial cannibalism were essentials of the society which was formed about a century ago. Unity of the members was symbolized by their partaking of a ceremonial meal from the flesh of human victims, who were cut up so that minute parts could be sent by messengers to those members of the society who lived too far away to attend the bush meetings.

The object of the Leopard Society, which had the Crocodile Society as a branch, was resistance to other societies, and a counter move against European control. The main aims were therefore political and social, but a religious cult based on fertility rites was included; and the members held in great reverence an object called *borfimah*, which was said to be the womb of the world.

*Borfimah* was a bag of leather, or a calabash stuffed with a concoction which was sealed within the receptacle by applying a coating of wax, mud, and blood to the aperture. The outside of the *borfimah* was decorated with cowrie shells and brightly colored seeds. Members of the society bore peculiar scars on their hips. Notice of a meeting was carried to members verbally, and a sacrificial victim, who was usually an aged person or a sickly child, was obtained by making payment to the nearest relatives or owners. On the night of the sacrifice, the Leopard men wore cloaks of leopard skins to which wooden models of leopard's feet were fastened, so that these might be pressed to the ground to suggest that a prowling leopard killed the victim. After sunset, a reed pipe was blown as a signal for all to keep indoors while the victim was murdered. Court evidence proved that the body of the victim was opened and omens were read by inspection of the liver and membranes. Fat from the kidneys was removed and used for giving new life to the *borfimah*.

Two of the most important secret societies of Sierra Leone and Liberia are the Porro for men and the Bondu for women. These ancient societies were political in origin, and their formation

was necessary in order to resist chiefs who were selling their subjects as slaves. Members were distinguished by cicatrized marks, and certain corporal markings designated rank among the members. The age of members is still of importance in deciding status, since males who belong to a local Porro must not be under thirty years of age, and for enrollment in the Grand Porro they must have attained fifty years. This society is said to have been a protection against the Leopard, Crocodile, and Baboon societies. Revelation of secrets was punishable by death, and although details of the rites are not well known, homosexuality is reported.

The Porro and Bondu societies are definitely connected with tribal initiation of boys and girls, for at that time membership in the secret society begins. Newland's observations indicate that the first stage of membership for boys includes initiation in the bush and a ceremonial restoration to the villages from which the novices were taken. Initiation rites for the women's society, Bondu, conform to those described under "Education." The Bondu is important among the Mendi, Vai, and Temne of Sierra Leone and Liberia. Girls are initiated at the age of ten years, and as a sign of membership they are cicatrized; then follows a training in sex knowledge, domestic work, and ceremonial dances. At the end of their seclusion, the names of the girls are changed and they appear as masked, painted figures. Shortly after this ceremony, the girls are marriageable (H. O. Newland, 1922, pp. 186-206).

So far the initiation camps of the Bondu and the Porro are seen to resemble those of ordinary tribal initiation, but membership of the Bondu continues into adult life as an association for resisting tyranny of husbands. Newland states that some societies for males have admitted females, but no female society admits males. Information relating to secret societies leaves many important points unexplained, but apparently the Porro and the Bondu societies are social and political groups arising from ordinary tribal initiation. G. W. Brown (1937, No. 3) has described the importance of the Porro in modern business.

The words Ekkpe, Ngbe, and Egbo are different tribal names for Leopards, whose secret societies have a wide distribution in west Africa. In Nigeria the Egbo society was at one time extremely powerful because it controlled all the most important functions of government and was ruled by a free-born chief whose office was hereditary. The society still exists, with limited activities, some of which are concerned with regulating trade and recovering debts for

members of the society. Details of the writing of a secret society have been given (chap. VII, "Languages and Literature").

Age is important for securing advancement in the society, since no male is allowed to learn all the secrets until he is of middle age. Advancement through the grades, of which there are seven, depends on payments by the member to his society. The fee for initiation into the second grade is \$150. Members of the grades are distinguished by painting the body, and in addition each grade has peculiar accouterments, dances, tunes, and insignia of office. (P. A. Talbot, 1926, vol. 3, pp. 754-801).

Of the Ogboni league, S. Johnson (1921, p. 77) states that at Abeokuta the members constituted a town council to which even the king was amenable. Among the Egba and Ijebu, the Ogboni had power of life and death, while the enacting of laws or the repeal of these was an ordinary function of the society. The Ogboni Society is a political oligarchy to which few women are admitted, and from this exclusive body a few members are chosen to form the king's cabinet. In accordance with the general rules affecting these political societies, the Ogboni can inflict punishments, including banishment from the society.

Of the Nigerian societies, R. E. Dennett (1916-17a, pp. 16-29) says, "Secret Societies are religious, medical, economic, and social. They are found among the ruling classes and also among the slaves. Many of them are called after beasts, birds, or reptiles. . . . Secret societies in Africa appear to be of two kinds; firstly, those that help the rulers to keep their people in order; and, secondly, those that aid the people to resist the despotism of their rulers." Dennett then considers types of secret political organization among the Bini and the Yoruba. He deals also with the economic aspects of trade guilds of farmers and hunters, who are members of a secret society.

The use that J. H. Driberg (1931, pp. 413-420) makes of the words "secret society" in reference to the Yakan organization of the Lugbwara tribe of northeast Africa illustrates the present lack of an ethnological definition of the words. Yakan is a secret organization, but the society differs in several fundamental respects from the secret societies of the forest regions of west and central Africa.

The age of Yakan is unknown, but the society has been revived from time to time, and it has spread among the Dinka and the Bari. The main object of the society has been the maintenance of tribal culture against aggression from Europeans and rival African tribes. The operation of the society shows "what a strongly integrating

factor such a cult may be in welding together unrelated tribes." There is a ritual preparation, housing, and distribution of sacred water containing various ingredients. The water is believed to restore ancestors to life, to resurrect dead cattle, and to give those who drink it immunity in flouting all government orders, and in refusing to pay taxes. In battle, the drinkers of the sacred water were said to be invulnerable. Those who refused to drink the water would become termites when they died. The aims of the society are therefore political and social, with a strong backing of magic and religion. But only in these very general principles does the Yakan resemble typical secret societies.

Many additional publications further illustrate the social, political, legal, and magico-religious nature of secret societies. W. Addison (1936), K. J. Beatty (1915), Bouccin (1936c), F. W. Butt-Thompson (1929), H. P. F. Marriott (1899-1900), and N. W. Thomas (1917, 1919) have described secret societies in west Africa. P. A. Arnoux (1913) deals with Ruanda. W. F. P. Burton (1930) and A. L. Cureau (1912) have described secret societies of the Belgian Congo.

#### AGE-GROUPS

In Negro society, the power of exercising social control advances with age, and we have noted that up to the time of tribal initiation boys and girls are classed as children; after initiation they are soon free to marry and their adult life begins. Instances have been noted in which children of the same initiation school form an age-grade that persists so long as they live. Study of secret societies has indicated that distinctions of age are preserved within the organization, and that certain prerogatives are associated with each age-group. Yet these examples do not touch the most important organizations and functions that are associated with age-groups.

#### HAMITIC TYPE OF AGE-GRADES

The most specialized type of grading by age and duty is found, not among Negroes, but among the Hamitic Galla and the Hamitized Masai and Nandi. In these tribes, age brings prerogatives of government. There is, however, no decisive evidence to prove that age-grades among Negroes are derived from the Hamitic System. Obviously, the mere grouping of people according to age, and the granting of administrative power to elders, are procedures that would be likely to occur independently in many parts of the world and at different periods. R. H. Lowie (1916, pp. 883-951) has made a comparative study of age-grades in Africa, Melanesia, and among



the Plains Indians, and has demonstrated the important differences of institutions that ethnologists classify under the same generic term.

The Galla system of age-grading as described by E. Cerulli (1932, pp. 167-176) is typical of the Hamitic method of organization. E. Cerulli distinguishes ten *gada*, each of which retains powers of administration during a period of eight years. The working of the scheme is such, that every man arrives at each of the periods for initiation into a new grade exactly forty years after his father had reached it. This is so because five *gada* periods elapse between the *gada* of father and son. It follows, therefore, that since there are ten *gada*, and each *gada* group rules for eight years, a period of eighty years elapses from the rule of a certain *gada* back to the same *gada* again. Membership in a *gada* does not depend on age, but is hereditary, and a boy is placed in the *gada* opposite to his father. The meaning of these statements is explained by Cerulli, who divides a circle into ten equal divisions lettered from A to J.

A description of age-grading for purposes of government in the Nandi tribe has been recorded by A. C. Hollis (1905, pp. 261, 288, 291, 303, 312; 1909, pp. 12, 62, 69, 77-80), who explains that males are divided into boys, warriors, and elders, while females have two age-groups, namely, girls and married women. After this preliminary sex division has been recognized, males are separated into seven cycles, each of which is an *impinda*. A circumcision festival for boys takes place every seven and a half years, and lasts for two years. All males circumcised at the same time belong to the same *impinda*, and since there are seven of these age-cycles the total time of revolution from the first *impinda* to the same again is fifty-three years. In each *impinda* three "fires" are recognized, and members gather round their own "fire," to which members of another "fire" are not admitted. Each "fire" has a distinguishing name such as "big ostrich feathers" or "the young bulls."

The ceremony of transferring the government of the country from one *impinda* to another is the most important rite in the lives of the Nandi, because those who are inaugurated become responsible for the safety of the country and the welfare of the inhabitants. The entire male population is present at the ceremony, at which a white bullock is slaughtered. The meat is eaten by old men, while the young ones cut up the hide to make rings that are worn on the fingers of their right hands. The performance of the ceremony is dependent on the chief medicine-man, who supervises the rite of taking over the government. Men of the warrior grade discard their skin clothing

and accouterments, which are replaced by the fur garments worn by old men who constitute the governing class.

A similar system exists among the Waikoma of Tanganyika Territory (E. C. Baker, 1927, No. 151). At one time, government was a dictatorship vested in war-doctors, wizards, and rain-makers, whose authority was upheld by the age-grades. Circumcision gave the first right of entry into age-grades, and among the Waikoma the grades, which numbered twelve, were divided into three groups. The first age-grade of each group ruled for eight years, at the end of which time it was driven out by the succeeding grade, who made a sham fight for acquisition of office. "When each of the first grades of the three groups had ruled, the sons of members of the first grade came into power, and in due course they were succeeded by the sons of members of the second grade, and then by those of the third grade, after which the grandsons of the three first grades ruled in turn. These men were succeeded by the great-grandsons of members of the original grades, which completed the cycle, and when their terms of office were finished their sons succeeded them and took the names of the original grades. Each grade ruled for eight years and therefore the cycle, which is continuous, is completed in ninety-six years."

These examples illustrate a legitimate use of the term age-grade, and no doubt can exist with regard to the historical connection of the instances quoted, for the complex systems are so similar in structure and function that the resemblances could hardly be fortuitous. Reference has been made to somewhat similar series of grading and periodical initiation among some Nilotes. The extent to which the age-grading system has been adopted independently and the part which diffusion has played is difficult to determine, but no doubt the system of the Wachagga should be included with this genuine group of gradings. The Chagga system demands that circumcised youths join a group called a *rika*, that is, a circumcision-age to which a specific name is given. The institution and the names are derived from the Masai, and the names of the *rikas* are in many instances identical with those of the Masai (C. K. Dundas, 1924, p. 209). There has apparently been a transfer of custom from the Half-Hamitic Masai to the Chagga, who are northeastern Bantu.

#### NEGRO TYPES OF AGE-GRADES

The following instances are typical of the kind of age-grading which functions among Negroes. In the Ba-ila tribe all men and women born in the same year, who have gone through tribal initiation ceremonies at the same time, apply to one another a term

*musama*, which designates a primary age-grade. As a secondary form of age-grade, a person associates with all people who belong to his or her parental age-grade, and these persons form a group called *musela*. Usually the Ba-ila are polite, and ridicule is forbidden, but a joking relationship exists between two persons of the same *musama* or the same *musela*. Previous mention has been made of a joking relationship between certain relatives and clan members, but this instance of exceptional familiarity between members of the same age-grade is a new aspect of the joking practice (Smith and Dale, 1920, vol. 1, p. 308).

The Ba-ila system has not the appearance of an organization which is derived from the Hamitic age-grading system, although the idea of basing the age-grade on the age and time of tribal initiation is fundamental to both the Hamitic and the Ba-ila (Bantu) systems. Age-grading among the Ba-ila is not the basis of government and military service, as among the Masai and the Nandi.

According to P. A. Talbot there exist in Southern Nigeria age-classes, comprising those persons born within certain periods, usually extending over two or three years but sometimes longer. Separate grades for males and females exist, and each of these forms a club whose members try minor cases or quarrels occurring among themselves. Age-grades vary in number from seven to twelve according to tribe. A first grade may include children whose ages range from four to seven years; more often, however, the first grade includes those who have reached puberty, have had their teeth filed, the cicatrization marks made, and circumcision performed. Usually special rites are observed when the first age-grade is entered. Frequently an age-grade chooses a president from men of an older grade.

The age-classes form an essential link in the chain of government and without them the administration could scarcely be carried on even at the present day. One of the chief prerogatives of this age-grade organization used to be the selection of those who were to go to war, and those who were either too old or too young for fighting. Every member of the community passes automatically through the consecutive groups, which appear to be a very primitive and ancient organization. The custom of purchasing membership of a senior grade in order to avoid the work relegated to lower grades is probably a comparatively late innovation.

Talbot (1926, vol. 3, pp. 543-555) illustrates the operation of these general principles by giving instances from the Yoruba, Bini, Ibo, Ido, Ijaw, and Ibibio tribes. If attention is directed to the

similarity of basic ideas, namely, ages and their respective duties, one may recognize a similarity in all age-grading systems. But the generic concept is of such an elementary kind that it would be likely to recur at many places and in various periods. In all society, the tendency is for age to bring increased dignity and social prerogative.

In the Munshi (Tiv) tribe, the whole social structure is based on age-grades (*kwagh*). Boys born in the same year are members of the same *kwagh*, and all are circumcised at the same time. Members pledge themselves to give mutual help in resisting anti-social magic, in performing farm work, and in preserving marriage regulations (R. M. Downes, 1933). H. L. M. Butcher (1935) has given a detailed description of the functioning of age-grades among the Edo people of Nigeria.

Hamitic age-gradings of the Galla, Masai, and Nandi are primary factors in social organization and control. But, generally speaking, the age-grades of Negroes are less specific, less complicated, and not so fundamental to military organization as are the pure Hamitic forms of age-groupings, as seen among the Galla and the Half-Hamites.

#### LAW

The student of African law among Negroes, Hamites, and Half-Hamites should bear in mind three main cultural divisions: purely pastoral tribes, tribes whose social organization is based on agriculture, and tribes which have a mixed pastoral and agricultural background.

For each of these divisions, research should take into consideration historical factors, especially Mohammedan and European influences. Law must be considered in close relationship to the family structure and kinship, village organization and chieftainship, and religion and magic. Such an outline will give legal codes their true cultural setting, and at the same time will explain the mechanisms of the law. The main points for study are the theory behind the law, the social and psychological sanctions of law, and the system of administration. One must bear in mind that, apart from Mohammedan and European influences, laws are not statutory; the absence of writing has prevented the recording of principles and precedents. These exist, however, in the minds of chiefs, tribal elders, and heads of families. Considerable latitude of judgment exists, but decisions are in accord with tribal customs, social attitudes, and moral concepts. At the end of this section on law, references are given to concrete studies of African law, and to the social and psychological basis of law.

## RELIGION AND LAW

The religious concepts which enter into the legal systems of African Negroes are the sacred oath, trial by ordeal, and ancestor worship. The oath is a form of appeal to the judgment of a spiritual power which is higher than human agency. "Among the Jukun the king's body is believed to be charged with a divine dynamism which communicates itself to everything he touches. The most potent oath, therefore, that a Jukun can take is to swear by the mat, couch, or slippers of the king. In taking an oath the litigant or accused is required to place his hand on the mat or couch. If he has sworn falsely it is believed that he will be struck dead as though killed by an electric shock." (Meek, 1931a, p. 27.)

Test of guilt by drinking poison is a form of legal procedure from Sierra Leone, through west Africa, over a great part of the Congo region, and into Angola. Usually the cup is prepared from sasswood, and at a public trial a medicine-man administers the draft to the accused persons. Those who are guilty succumb, while the innocent persons vomit. The spiritual backing of this procedure is seen in the use of ritual in preparing the cup, the form of oath taken before drinking, and the part played by the medicine-man who is acting as an intermediary between the accused persons and judgment of a non-human kind. The procedure of the Ba-ila illustrates the sacred character of the poison ordeal. The hand of a young child must gather the drug for the poison, and the feet of the child must not be allowed to touch the ground as he carries the drug back to the village. (C. Gouldsbury and H. Sheane, 1911, p. 61).

A basic idea in trial by ord  al is the belief that an innocent person will escape the harmful effects of any tests he is asked to perform. The accused may submit to boring of his tongue with a feather, swallowing a fish-hook, licking a red-hot hoe, eating hot rice, carrying a hot iron ring, or swimming a river that is infested with crocodiles, but innocence will give immunity.

Trial of accused persons and of litigants by proxy is a common procedure, and each individual is required to substitute for his own person a dog or a chicken. The animals are poisoned, and the guilt of the owners is determined by the effect of the poison on their respective animals. In former days, wealthy men were allowed to substitute slaves who submitted themselves to the tests in place of their masters. The details of procedure and the geographical distributions of all forms of African trial by ordeal have been described and mapped by C. Wiedemann (1909).

The Negro high gods are not so important as ancestral spirits in relation to conduct and legal procedure. Nzambi, Kalunga, Suku, and other deities who are credited with creative power are too remote to be closely concerned with the affairs of men. The high gods are often thought to be benevolent, yet jealous if they do not receive sacrifices; but they are not concerned with the issuing of commands; they do not define right and wrong, or promise punishments or rewards in a spirit world.

Deism is, however, only one aspect of religion, and consideration of ancestor worship shows a positive connection between religious concepts and law. The gods may be otiose, but the ancestors are powerful in the lives of the living, whose tenure of land, adultery, and incest are matters of deep concern to dead relatives. If these are offended, the whole community, not only individual culprits, will suffer.

The importance of religious sanction to conduct and legal procedure should not, however, be over-emphasized. Conduct, custom, and law have in many tribes a strong social sanction; everyone knows what is right or wrong according to the codes, but the religious sanction, though perhaps subconscious, is not always apparent. Family life, the power of suggestion from elders, and the direct training of initiation, appear to establish social attitudes and standards in which the demands of gods and ancestors are not stressed though they operate indirectly. See Rattray (1929, pp. 372-378).

An extremely useful summary of the foregoing controls and attitudes has been provided by G. Wilson (1936). The main body of customs may be divided as follows by distinguishing between the different factors which provide sanctions for conformity to law: (1) manners, sanctioned by public approval and disapproval; (2) morality, sanctioned by religion; (3) common policy, sanctioned by rewards and punishments that make honesty the best policy; (4) law, sanctioned by institutionalized inquiry followed by compulsion or punishment. The sanctions are not separated but are combined in various ways to form social controls. Consult F. Eggan (1937, pp. 341-373).

#### LAW AND CHIEFTAINSHIP

Responsibility for the conduct of individuals and for administration of the law is intimately connected with family and clan organization, with the village unit, and with the kingdom. In Negro society, a king or supreme chief is regarded as the spiritual, legal, and economic head of the tribe by virtue of his ancestry, position, and sacred attributes. But more active in actual administration

and legal procedure is the village headman, who tries all offenders and hears all the litigation of the village over which he rules. Yet his judgments are under the veto of the king, and appellants have a right to transfer their cases from the village headman to the king.

On account of his sacredness, a king has many prerogatives, including absolute power over the lives of his subjects, their property, their military service, and taxation. These wide powers leave a general impression of despotism, for the king's decisions are final; yet a chief or king has definite obligations which often include the performance of religious ceremonies by which he alone can obtain the blessing of royal ancestors. A ruler also has definite economic obligations whose nature has been explained by I. Schapera (1928, p. 175) in his description of chieftainship in south Africa.

"At the same time all this accumulation of wealth by the chief was really made on behalf of the tribe. The chief gave out his cattle to the poorer members of the tribe to herd for him and allowed them to use the milk." Instances of extreme despotism and wanton cruelty are not unknown in the history of Negro kingdoms, but these do not represent the general relationship between a supreme ruler and his subjects.

In addition to the juridical functions of chiefs and kings, law is administered through a regular procedure of trial, including pleadings, questioning of the accuser and the accused, and the examination of witnesses. Among the Ovimbundu, an appellant who states his case is *ombile*, the defendant is *ovilue*, and a witness is *uwangi*. False witness was at one time punishable by fines and flogging. *Ukuenje welombe*, a king's messenger, was responsible for witnessing the execution of sentences passed in the king's court, and the appointment of kings' executioners has been a common Negro custom. But in many tribes execution of a sentence was left in the hands of near relatives, who, in case of avenging a murder, were entitled to use the kind of weapon that had been employed to commit the crime.

#### PERSONAL AND COMMUNAL RESPONSIBILITY

An important point to consider is the recognition of intentional and unintentional offences in different regions. In some tribes no distinction is made; but instances of sanctuary occur, and an offender could take refuge at a shrine, in a chief's hut, or at some other place which gave temporary immunity until the charges were investigated (C. M. Doke, 1931c, p. 73). Allowing time for agitation to subside is an important point in Negro procedure, and an offender

usually absconds, leaving his chief and relatives to negotiate. With the help of clansmen, he will ultimately pay a fine on account of his misconduct, for example, adultery, for which he might have been killed by an aggrieved husband, who would have been within his legal rights.

The subject of responsibility for misconduct is one that touches the core of family and clan organization. In family life, a maternal uncle may be responsible for the conduct of his sister's children. He may pay the fines imposed on them, but, reciprocally, they will work to discharge his obligations. A husband is responsible for the conduct of his wife, his dependent children, and his slaves. For these, he will have to pay fines; then he himself administers punishment, which is often a flogging.

Punishment imposed by a regular court was apt to recognize a principle of communal responsibility. Therefore, a death sentence might be extended to several near relatives, or a whole family might be sold into slavery because of the offence of one member.

Trial by ordeal in which a slave was substituted for his master has been mentioned, and this proxy was sometimes extended to such punishments as flogging and mutilation. The willingness of commoners to perjure themselves and to suffer for their social superiors has sometimes proved an obstacle to European administration. Another basic point in Negro law is the correlation between the magnitude of an offence and the social standing of the aggrieved person. Theft or adultery against a king was always far more serious than the same offence against a commoner.

The codes of punishment which are characteristic of Negro law have several common traits. Death, banishment, mutilation, flogging, and fines are frequently mentioned in descriptions of legal procedure. Selling delinquents into slavery was common, but prolonged imprisonment was never a factor of the Negro penal code. Imprisonment of debtors and malefactors in a dungeon has been common under Mohammedan influence; for example, the dungeons of Kano were crowded at the time of the British occupation in 1903, but usually under Negro law an offender is tried and punished as soon as possible.

These general principles relating to the influence of religion and social organization on law can now be illustrated by examining legal procedure in its bearing on inheritance, succession, ownership of land, adultery, theft, and murder. But while examining the data in this way the cautions of B. Malinowski (1932) should be borne in mind,



since obedience to law does not depend entirely on "any wholesale motive like fear of punishment or a general submission to all traditions, but on very complex psychological and social inducements."

#### LAW OF INHERITANCE

Our previous studies of kinship and of the family showed that two main types of reckoning descent, inheritance, and succession have to be taken into consideration. H. von Baumann (1925, pp. 62-161) has prepared a number of maps showing the distribution of systems that recognize descent by females only, by males only, or by both. The maps indicate the areas of Africa in which inheritance of property and succession to office is the right of a son or brother of the deceased; this system is prevalent on the east side of Africa. Among many Negro tribes, a wife and children inherit no property from the dead father; all bequests are made to a sister's sons. Von Baumann indicates areas in which the Mohammedan system of inheritance and succession has mingled with or actually superseded other codes. The following instances, which are selected from Bantu and Sudanic Negro tribes, illustrate the main principles explained by Von Baumann.

Among the Ovimbundu a husband makes no bequest to his widow or children; property passes to the sons of the sister of the deceased. But a small gift is likely to be made to the widow and her children, since the men who have inherited the property are afraid of being held up to ridicule for their meanness. The oldest brother of the widow has the task of settling any disputes that may arise. Widows are classed with movable property, and they are inherited by brothers of the deceased. In some tribes, the question of inheritance fees arises. This subject has been discussed by J. H. Driberg (Man, 1929, No. 64).

The Ovimbundu recognize the right of a woman to possess property. When a wife is divorced, she removes her domestic utensils to her home. When a wife dies, these small possessions are divided among her sisters.

R. S. Rattray (1932a, vol. 1, p. 271) makes clear that among the Nankanse a married woman may own property independently of her husband. The things she contributed to the home and the articles she has made since marriage are her individual belongings. On her death without issue this private property reverts to her own family. Beads and all things pertaining to women go to her daughters. The live stock owned by a deceased wife may be inherited by her son or by her parents, but never by her husband. In general, the codes of

Negro law dealing with bequest of property recognize the independent ownership of property by women. Often the possessions are insignificant, but the principle is of importance in legal procedure.

Laws of the Ba-ila are complicated in their relation to inheritance, and descent of property is often determined by the combativeness of the legatees. But to prevent quarreling, a testator sometimes nominates the heirs before his death. Widows are inherited by brothers of the deceased. A chief may nominate his successor, but if he fails to do so a man is elected by village elders (Smith and Dale, 1920, vol. 1, pp. 303-305, 390). Normally, among the Ovimbundu a king or village chief is succeeded by the oldest son of his principal wife, but if the youth is not suitable another son is chosen.

Describing inheritance of property among the Bakongo, J. H. Weeks (1914, p. 102) shows that the legal code is one which is common in Negro tribes. He states that property is bequeathed from a dead man to the oldest son of the deceased's oldest sister. A wife and her children do not inherit from a father, but though neglected in this way they are the beneficiaries of their maternal uncle. Maps prepared by H. von Baumann (1925) indicate the wide distribution of this kind of inheritance throughout the Congo region and Angola.

Laws of inheritance described by M. Delafosse (1931, p. 190) indicate differences in local procedure. If a husband predeceases his wives, they are returned to their own kin, who then refund to the heir the value of the dowries which were paid for these women. The heir of a dead man becomes the legal father of the deceased's children and the husband of his wives, but some local customs forbid the heir to have sexual relations with these women. Usually the heir restores the widows to their kindred in consideration of compensation, but the women may work for him, and, if they remarry, the dowries are given to the man who inherited them. Delafosse remarks that from the legal point of view no widows or orphans exist, since these are inherited and put to work, or they are restored to their kindred who make compensation.

#### LAW AND LAND OWNERSHIP

When describing the establishment of a new village site in the territory of the Ovimbundu tribe, I called attention to the distribution of land by a king or chief to the heads of families. Retention depended on continuous cultivation, but when a man was going away on a caravan journey—and this frequently happened—another man might cultivate the land of the absentee and retain the produce.

Disputes arising from this arrangement were settled by the village headman.

In a polygynous family of the Ovimbundu, land is divided among the wives, each of whom is responsible for cultivating her own plot. Each wife is entitled to a part of the produce, which must be sufficient to buy her clothes, ornaments, and palm oil. Failure of the husband to give such a part of the produce justifies the wife in claiming a divorce. At the present day each unmarried girl who is living at home has a portion of land, the produce of which she sells solely for her own benefit. The money obtained is spent on cloth, palm oil, and trinkets. These usages are commonly found among land-owning Negroes.

Reverence for dead ancestors in their capacity of land owners is the determining principle of land ownership and distribution. The chief who distributes land is acting in a priestly capacity, and his concessions are equitable loans, not absolute gifts.

In this section, chap. VI, the religious sanction of law will be more fully described.

#### LAW OF ADULTERY

Consideration of laws relating to the punishment of adultery calls attention to the further influence of religious belief on legal codes. R. S. Rattray (1923, p. 50) states that the offence of adultery is greatly aggravated if committed with a pregnant woman, because the two *ntoro* (male elements) meeting in the womb may cause death of the child. If, however, the husband and the adulterer are of the same *ntoro* the offence is less serious. This view of adultery is a natural corollary of Ashanti beliefs in reincarnation and the part played by male and female in an act of conception.

Adultery of a wife is generally regarded as a danger to her husband, especially if he is away hunting or on a journey. Misconduct of a wife may cause her husband to injure himself in his work or make him incapable as an artisan. These are instances of magical beliefs of a sympathetic kind that are associated with adultery, and to these may be added the difficult parturition of an adulterous woman, who can secure delivery only by a full confession. E. Torday (1929b, p. 285) quotes instances of widows who have to appease the spirits of dead husbands before remarriage. This is done in deference to the dead, and to avoid even a semblance of adultery. Widows who remarry and have offspring are regarded as producers of children for their dead husbands, and not for their living spouses.

H. Labouret (1931, p. 377) points out instances in which adultery is more than a civil offence. Spouses are placed under the protection of a family deity, and infidelity of either husband or wife angers the ancestral spirits, who retaliate with a curse of barrenness.

Before European intervention punishments for adultery were severe, but at present the tendency is for compensation to be made by payment to the aggrieved husband. E. Torday (1929b, pp. 255-290) has adduced evidence from many Bantu tribes to show the cruelty of punishments that were inflicted on male and female offenders. Former punishments included burning alive, burial while alive, and mutilations; the severity of the punishment increased with the social position of the seduced woman.

Among the Ovimbundu, the penalty for adultery was the same as for murder. The culprit's neck was fastened in a yoke of wood and his feet hardly touched the ground until a fine was paid. If he was unable to pay the fine, the husband of the seduced woman had the right to kill him. An adulterous woman usually escaped with a chastisement. At the present time, an aggrieved husband has the right of deciding whether he will retain his wife or allow her to go to her seducer after the compensation has been paid. The disposal of the children of an adulteress depends on their ages; all children under three years of age go with their mother.

R. S. Rattray (1927a, pp. 86, 93, 98) has described the discrimination made by the Ashanti between adultery with a woman of the commoners and adultery with the wife of a king. A wronged king demanded a death penalty for both culprits, their parents, and their maternal uncles, which was a drastic application of the principle of communal responsibility. A series of tortures was inflicted on the adulterer by the king's executioner.

The sacred character of kings and chiefs, and not merely their high social position, accounts for the severity of punishments inflicted on adulterers with the royal wives. The offence, which is normally a violation of property rights, becomes a dangerous sacrilege when perpetrated in the royal household. Laws relating to adultery among the Ovimbundu—and these laws are typical of those prevailing in Bantu tribes—demanded castration of a seducer of the wife of a king, but the death penalty was not always demanded. A culprit sometimes escaped emasculation by payment of a heavy fine, but he himself along with his sisters and her sons became slaves of the king. This was equivalent to confiscation of all inheritable property since bequest is in the female line to a sister's sons.

## LAWS OF THEFT

Negro laws relating to theft lay particular stress on the responsibility of the head of a family for delinquencies of the members. Theft is regarded as an offence against an individual who must be compensated by the thief or by his kindred. Punishment takes the form of restitution of the stolen articles, or perhaps repayment of twice or thrice their value. Flogging as a punishment for theft was common before European control; so also were mutilations. Penalties were usually graded for first, second, and third offences; the first theft was sometimes punished by flogging, the second by a light mutilation such as lopping fingers, and the third incurred extreme mutilation such as loss of hands and feet. The gravity of the offence increased with the social status of the person who was robbed.

Laws of the Ovimbundu illustrate a sense of family responsibility. A woman who is caught in the act of stealing from a garden is taken to her husband, who beats her and makes restitution. A child who steals is beaten by his maternal uncle or by his father. The owner of a slave takes responsibility for the delinquencies of his servant, pays the fines incurred, then flogs the culprit. K. G. Lindblom (1916, pp. 170-172) mentions a peculiar form of family punishment whereby parents place curses on delinquent children, who have to show signs of reform before the curse is ceremonially removed.

The Bakongo have laws for punishing a receiver of stolen goods who has acted wittingly, and there is a law recognizing a form of theft that is dangerous to the community because of offence to ancestors. A culprit who takes articles from a grave is beheaded and his body is thrown into the bush. Such was the ancient law before European control (J. H. Weeks, 1914, p. 65).

Among the Temne of Sierra Leone, a thief might be flogged, sold into slavery, or his hands might be cut off. The more severe punishments were given to habitual offenders. First offences were punished by confinement in the stocks and repayment of treble the value of the stolen goods (N. W. Thomas, 1916, Part I, p. 156).

## LAW OF HOMICIDE

Study of the punishment of murderers brings out the following points of importance involved in social attitudes toward this offence. Murder upsets the equilibrium of social groups and restoration has to be made. Communal responsibility of the family and the clan of the murderer is involved. Private revenge is usually condoned, and blood-revenge of this kind occurs when a murderer is unable to

hide pending settlement of the indemnity. After payment of indemnity, ceremonial purging of the murderer may be necessary in order to appease the ghost of the victim. The religious element is further shown by rites of purification for the executioner, who is thus protected against the ghost of the criminal.

The Ovimbundu prescribed severe penalties for murder, the commonest of which was fixing the culprit's head in a triangle of wood and suspending him with his feet barely touching the ground. Sometimes a murderer's head was placed through a hole in the wooden door of his hut so that he faced the street. If the murderer could not pay the blood-money and his kindred were unable to meet the obligation, he was executed. The sentence might be carried out by *ukuenje welombe*, the king's servant, or relatives of the victim might be allowed to kill the murderer with the weapon he had used for his crime. If a man murdered one of the royal family, he was executed, and in addition to this his kindred had to pay the blood-money. Payment of compensation in addition to other punishment is common in Negro law. When dealing with adultery, theft, and murder, the law aims at imposing physical punishment, making compensation to the aggrieved person, and adjusting the claims of family and clan groups.

To test the guilt of an accused murderer, the Ovimbundu used the poison cup. This practice is forbidden by Portuguese law, but a mild form of ordeal is substituted. Accuser and accused sit opposite a medicine-man, who holds two potatoes, one of which is poisoned but not sufficiently to cause death. The poisoned potato causes swelling of the mouth, the man is afraid, and confesses if guilty. Combined with the ordeal is a form of oath. The accuser says, "If this man is not the murderer this potato will be poison for me, but if he is the murderer this potato will be food for me." The accused makes a similar statement.

In the Bakongo tribe, a family was responsible for finding and handing over for trial any member of the family who was guilty of murder. If found guilty by the village chief, the murderer was made drunk with palm wine and executed in the market place, after which his body was destroyed by fire so that his ghost could not haunt the executioners. A family that failed to deliver a kinsman who was accused of murder was heavily fined (H. J. Weeks, 1914, p. 63). Accidental homicide was not distinguished from an intentional act. The law went further. If a Bakongo murderer had been known as dangerous, and if a warning had been given to his kin, a very

heavy fine was imposed on his family, but the murderer was not punished if he was known to be of defective intellect. The mentally deficient who had homicidal tendencies disappeared, presumably by poison, and the responsibility of the family no doubt induced them to make a quiet removal of a potential murderer (J. H. Weeks, *ibid.*).

C. M. Doke (1931c, p. 74) states that among the Lambas a person who has provoked a suicide by wrongful accusation, or by insistent demand for payment of a debt is held responsible for the suicide.

Although the instances quoted indicate that a death penalty is sometimes inflicted for murder, the general evidence stresses the restoration of equilibrium by compensation of the victim's family and clan. The Ba-ila say that "to kill a person because he has killed another is ridiculous; why make a bigger hole in the community? Fine him, yes, but unless he is a veritable danger to the others, let him live." Killing a human being is regarded as an offence against the clan of the victim, against the communal god, against the victim's ghost, and against the hidden forces of nature (Smith and Dale, 1920, vol. 1, p. 413).

The Akamba, Akikuyu, and Atheraka, who are Bantu tribes of northeast Africa, have laws that further illustrate the principles mentioned (C. K. Dundas, 1915, pp. 234-305). A religious factor in jurisprudence is shown by the use of oaths and ordeals, and compensation implies more than payment for injury done, for a rite of purification is performed after every instance of personal violence. The elders sacrifice a goat and attach a piece of the skin to the injured part of the person who was attacked.

In homicide, provocation, self-defence, and unintentional acts are not accepted as extenuating circumstances; therefore, blood-money is always demanded. Kikuyu law states that a man may refuse to accept blood-money and may, instead of compensation, kill the murderer of his kinsman. The amount of compensation required for homicide is less if the murderer has killed his own kinsman. For example, a man who kills his father has to pay to his father's brothers, or to their sons, half the usual compensation for murder. The murderer took a life that was closely bound to his own kinship group; therefore, equilibrium is more easily restored than would be the case if the victim were a stranger from outside the assassin's kindred. This instance illustrates one of the most important aspects of primitive law.

A murderer visits all his clansmen and begs for contributions toward the blood-money. "To refuse such assistance is regarded as

shameful, and equivalent of a denial of kinship." Clansmen contribute to help one of their members, but reciprocally they share in blood-money paid for the murder of one of their clan.

Among the Akikuyu, purification of a homicide consists of blunting the weapon used and burying it, of washing the offender, and of shaving his head. Atheraka law demands that a murderer shall kill a goat. Elders make small cuts all over the body of the homicide and into these incisions the blood of the sacrificed animal is smeared. "These rites are intended for purification and if omitted the direst consequences ensue, for the murderer will continue to slay friends and foes alike." The elders officiate at a peace-making ceremony between the murderer and relatives of his victim.

Instances of law relating to homicide among the Timne-speaking tribes of Sierra Leone usually show a principle of compensation by restoring the numerical equilibrium of social groups. But in one area no compensation could be accepted for a life, and, if a murderer escaped, his relatives would be attacked by the kindred of the murdered man. In another region, a slave had to be given to take the place of the murdered man, and this slave became the husband of the victim's widow. The slave could not inherit property; he was regarded as a numerical equalization. The crime was regarded as a social injury and not as a personal affront. In districts where compensation was accepted for murder, and restitution was not made, the murderer was publicly executed by a brother of the victim. A man who murdered his wife had to give a female of his own kindred to the relatives of his wife, and sometimes a boy was given in this way as compensation for a man who had been murdered (N. W. Thomas, 1916, Part I, pp. 161, 164).

Laws relating to homicide among the Yoruba of Nigeria bring out clearly the general nature of Negro concepts respecting compensation. If a master killed his own slave, no crime was committed; the murderer had merely injured himself, and there was no moral turpitude and no social wrong. But if a free man murdered a slave of another free man, the murderer had to pay money or give two slaves in place of the one killed. An owner of slaves usually had the right of substituting a slave to take a punishment that he himself had incurred (A. K. Ajisafe, 1924, pp. 28, 38).

J. H. Driberg (1928, pp. 63-72) has pointed out that "a pastoral culture and one based on husbandry are so inherently different that they could not safely be brought within one survey, though doubtless much of what is true of one is also true of the other."



A glance at some of the laws of Nilotic Negroes and Half-Hamites shows certain basic similarities between the legal codes of these tribes and those of the Bantu and Sudanic Negroes. But among pastoral tribes the ownership of cattle is fundamental in all questions of fines and compensations, and even in Bantu tribes who have become herdsmen, though still agriculturalists, cattle play the most important part in legal procedure. Maclean (1858) states that "the stealing of live stock is the most important law case in Kafirland."

Laws of the Dinka indicate the importance of cattle as compensation for assault or murder. Payment varies from a hundred head of cattle in case of homicide to payment of a goat to recompense a minor injury. Other points of law resemble those of Bantu and Sudanic Negroes. Communal responsibility for an offense is fully recognized, and the family or clan of the delinquent must pay the penalty. Murder and theft are a violation of private rights and a disturbance of social equilibrium. An oath, taken on a sacred spear before testifying, is important in legal procedure (H. O'Sullivan, 1910, pp. 171-191).

Among the Kisongo Masai of Tanganyika Territory, all the cattle of a murderer are taken by relatives of the deceased, but some of the animals, for example, cows that are about to calve, are returned after the tribal elders have judged the case. Sometimes private revenge operates after two years or more. Relatives of the murdered man raid the kraal of the murderer by night, and the homicide may be killed without a trial. For every head of cattle taken by a thief, five have to be returned. For personal assault, graded payments are arranged; these vary from one ewe to twenty-nine head of cattle, according to the injuries of the victim (R. A. J. Maguire, 1928-29, pp. 12-18).

Didinga law shows that "all transgressions, whether compensated for by live stock or not, must also be purged by sacrifice." Unintentional homicide is settled by compensation. If the murder is intentional, the offender is killed, unless he can escape. Execution of a murderer is not a legal punishment, but an act of retaliation, which is condoned. If a homicide can hide temporarily his family will arrange for compensation, and after the matter is settled he may safely return, although the compensation has not actually been paid. Theft is usually punished by flogging the culprit and making him return the stolen articles. Trial by ordeal is practiced (J. H. Driberg, 1925, pp. 153-175).

## SUMMARY AND READING

The foregoing points and others of importance have been touched upon by J. H. Driberg (1934, pp. 230-231) in his account of the basic concepts of Negro law. He discusses the privileges of restricted groups, such as the family, the clan, or the tribe, and remarks on the fundamental differences between European and African legal concepts. The points elucidated are those of legal status, penalties, motive and intention, the displeasure of ancestors (religious sanctions), ridicule and ostracism (satirical songs). An appendix summarizes the aspects of family, clan, tribal, and associational law. Driberg's article is a summary of the points I have tried to establish.

Our examples of social control have indicated that secret societies, age-grades, and the operation of customary laws are closely coordinated social controls. These controls, aided by religious beliefs and magical rites, have unified tribal life by establishing legal sanctions.

Working to some extent in opposition to these institutions are the disharmonic factors of warfare and slavery, which will now be considered. These institutions tend to break down cultural patterns, to disperse physical types and languages, and, by a process of diffusion, to change the social and economic structure. We have in society, processes analogous to those with which a biologist is familiar, namely, anabolism (building up) and katabolism (a breaking down).

For a broad approach to the subject of Negro law, the following works are important. R. R. Marett (1936) has discussed the nature of sanctions in primitive law. W. Seagle (1937) should be read for a summary and criticism of the views of A. R. Radcliffe Brown and B. Malinowski. A. S. Diamond (1936), J. H. Driberg (1934) on "The African Conception of Law," H. I. Hogbin (1934), and B. Malinowski (1932) are important. R. R. Marett's "Anthropology," (1911, pp. 181-208) gives a brief helpful summary of legal attitudes of primitive people. Malinowski discusses the views of L. T. Hobhouse, W. H. R. Rivers, E. S. Hartland, E. Durkheim, and A. R. Radcliffe Brown on the subject of primitive law. C. Meinhof (1908, pp. 159-164) describes "The Codification of Native Law in the German Colonies." Two comprehensive works in German are E. Schultz-Ewerth and L. Adam (1930) and S. R. Steinmetz (1903).

The following works are important contributions to the study of African law: B. Ankermann (1929), J. B. Danquah (1928), J. S. Fenton (1932), B. Gutmann (1925, 1926), C. K. Meek (1934), R. S. Rattray (1929), P. P. Schumacher (1912), W. G. Stafford (1935), and G. Wilson (1937). These works sample Negro law in a wide area.

## V. SOCIAL CONFLICTS

A review of warfare and slavery as aspects of social life shows an interrelationship of cultural traits. Warfare has resulted in the capture of slaves whose reception into a tribe tends to change the economic organization. Warfare and head-hunting are to some extent kindred activities, but a fundamental distinction exists between a permanent military organization, such as that developed by the Zulu, and the intermittent head-hunting raids of tribes on the Bauchi plateau of Nigeria. Cannibalism may be a factor associated with head-hunting and warfare, though this is not invariably so. The association of cannibalism, slavery, and human sacrifice is somewhat close, since slaves and captives were the persons most frequently sacrificed at ceremonies for inaugurating a new king and performing funeral rites at his death.

The object of this chapter is to show the effects of warfare and slavery on social organization, tribal migrations, and diffusion of cultural elements.

### WARFARE AND HEAD-HUNTING

The subject of warfare falls naturally into two divisions: the one dealing with accouterments and tactics, and the other with historical sequences, cultural change, economic conditions, and magical aids.

### WEAPONS AND TACTICS

Among numerous methods of defence, the most important are concerned with the protection of villages. These may secure immunity from attack because of their inaccessible position in high, rugged hills. Typical examples of such defence are to be seen in the country of the Vasele in the hinterland of Novo Redondo, Angola. The small clusters of huts are screened among masses of rocks which make them difficult to locate and more difficult to reach (Fig. 80, *b*). The same may be said of the villages of the Angas tribe in eastern Nigeria; these small communities can be reached only after a long climb. Each village is protected by a stone wall.

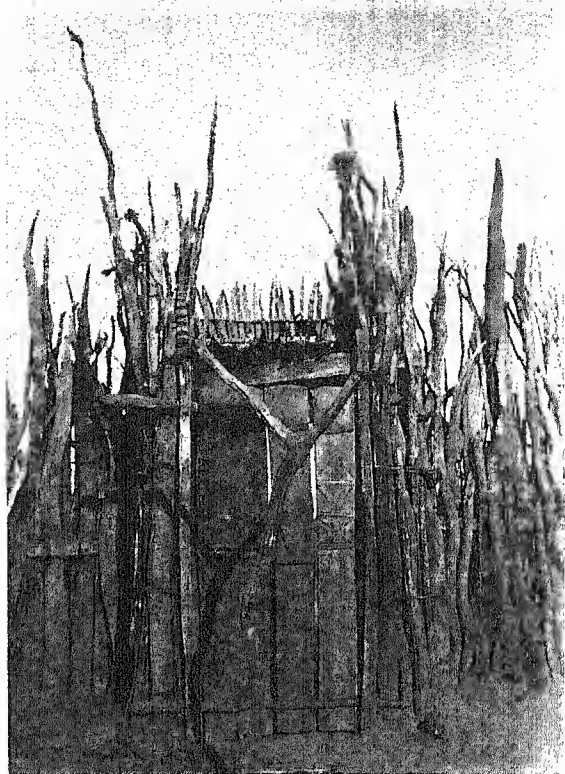
This type of defence is important as a cultural determinant. Isolation leads to the preservation of archaic forms of speech and the survival of customs that have become obsolete in surrounding regions which are open to cultural contacts and changes. Villages of the Bauchi plateau have long resisted the influences of Europeans and Mohammedans.

The economic results of defensive village structure in mountainous regions are well seen in relation to agriculture. The Angas terrace their hillsides for the growth of a species of millet that thrives on impoverished soil deficient in moisture. The Vasele descend from their hills to cultivate small gardens in the more fertile valleys. In this way, economic habits are determined by a primary necessity for self-defence by isolation.

Villages on plains are sometimes defended by high palisades in which heavy wooden doors are built (Fig. 80, *a*), and in some regions approach is made dangerous by the planting of poisoned, pointed stakes with their sharp ends slightly above ground level. Walled cities, such as Kano and Katsina in Nigeria, are not typical of Negro defence; in common with the general architecture of the western Sudan, mural defences have their origin in the styles of north Africa. An existing example of protection by moat and earthwork, now overgrown with dense vegetation, may be seen near the city of Benin, but this protection is occasional rather than typical.

Miscellaneous methods of defence include signaling with smoke. The Nuba of southern Kordofan warn the scattered hillside villages in this way, but the method is not general (J. W. Sagar, 1922, p. 155). Drum signaling as a warning and defence against surprise attack was general throughout Negro Africa before European control. Personal defence by the use of magical preparations for smearing on the body, and the wearing of charms to give invulnerability, are extremely common practices.

The chief defensive weapons are shields of leather, hide, wood, or wicker in great variety. Each locality in which shields are used has a type or types that are readily distinguishable (P. Schebesta and G. Höltker, 1923-24, 1925; Storrs-Fox, 1930). The Masai and Nandi make shields of prepared hide from which the hair has been removed. Zulu shields are of rawhide; painting of shields among the Half-Hamites, and the colors of the hide among the Zulu, indicate military units and age-grades. The finest wicker shields, which are remarkably well plaited, are made in the northeast Congo region. Among wooden shields, those of the Buduma are distinguished by their great size, wide curvature to protect the body, and the lightness of ambatch wood from which they are made. The parrying bow of the Dinka is a singular weapon with a limited distribution (G. Schweinfurth, 1875, Plate I, Fig. 16).



*a*



*b*

FIG. 80. Village defence. *a*. Door in palisade, Ovimbundu, Ngalangi.  
*b*. Strategic site on hill-top, Vasele, Angola.

Use of protective armor for men and horses is local. The history of chain mail and its probable origin in Persia are the subjects of an article by B. Laufer (1913-14). Field Museum possesses a cuirass of crocodile skin from the Batanga coast of the Cameroons (Catalogue No. 175394). Berom horsemen of the Bauchi plateau, Nigeria, wear greaves of iron on their shins. But the employment of body armor of any kind in Negro tribes is exceptional.

The bows and arrows of Africa have formed the subject of a monograph by L. S. B. Leakey (1926). Bows vary greatly in length from three to six feet; they may be strung with thin strips of twisted hide or with rattan. The methods of knotting and forming loops for passing over the ends of the stave are various, and the stave itself may be flat or round in cross section. Quivers are constructed from hide, thin sheets of bark, or from the stems of bamboo.

The shafts of arrows are often made from strong hollow reeds into which iron arrowheads are tanged and bound; or the arrow-shaft may be a solid piece of wood onto which the iron arrowhead is socketed. Feathering of arrows is usual, but not universal. The technique of feathering shows many ways of splitting and binding the feathers to the arrow-shaft.

Iron arrow-points made by Negro blacksmiths are now general, though some Bushmen still use bone points. The methods of releasing the arrow in Africa and other parts of the world have been described by R. B. Dixon (1928).

Use of a poison for arrow-tips is common among Negroes, but many tribes, for example, the Ovimbundu and the Vachokwe of Angola, do not poison their arrows. The Munshi of the Cameroons are supplied with arrow poison by their medicine-men, who make the mixture from crushed heads of snakes mixed with *Strophanthus* seeds. During the preparation a spell is uttered to curse the enemy.

The Konkomba and other tribes of northern Togoland either treat their arrows with poison which is thickly smeared on the points, or they leave the arrow-tips stuck in a putrid carcass. A. W. Cardinall (1927a, p. 119) states that in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast tribesmen collect *Strophanthus* seeds at the beginning of the first rains. Young men erect grass shelters away from the compounds where they live, and for two days no person is allowed to approach the secret place where the poison is brewed. A sacrifice of fowls is made during this rite, and prohibitions are observed. No man who is concerned with making the poison may have intercourse

with a woman, and wives are not permitted to bring food to their men who are in the sacred retreat.

Further information on the poisoning of arrows is given by I. C. Hall and R. W. Whitehead (1927) and H. Neuville (1916). The types of bows and arrows and their distribution have been described by L. Frobenius (1932), L. F. Mainguard (1932), F. Ratzel (1891), and K. Weule (1899).

The magical element that enters into warfare is mentioned by C. K. Meek (1931a, p. 305) who describes preparations made by the



FIG. 81. Vakwanyama warriors with tufted spears, bows, and throwing-clubs.

Jukun. Before setting out for war, warriors and their weapons are smeared with the juice from tubers. Some of the warriors carry a species of nut which is supposed to prevent weapons from touching their bodies. Others obtain concoctions that are supposed to make them invisible to the foe.

Missile weapons include throwing-knives, clubs, light assagais (Fig. 81) and slings. The use of slings for throwing-stones is limited to a distribution in the west, north, and northeast of Africa; these areas are shown on the map prepared by K. G. Lindblom (1927c).

Throwing-knives take many forms, each of which has a definite area of distribution. The iron throwing-knife of the Tibbu of Tibesti

is easily distinguished, as are the patterns used near Lake Chad. In the northeast Congo region, peculiar types occur, as they do also among the Fang tribe and the Bushongo. The word Bushongo means "people of the throwing-knife." When used in open country, for example, in the eastern and western Sudan, these weapons were launched at the fetlocks of horses. The types of throwing-knives, the geographical distribution of the different patterns, also the evolution of forms and their generic relationship to throwing-clubs, have formed the subject of several articles (H. Schurtz, 1889; E. S. Thomas, 1925). Light throwing-assagais are sometimes used without shields, as among the Vakwanyama of south Angola, but the Zulu used to fight with both shields and assagais. Chaka converted the assagai from a missile weapon to one used for stabbing. Further information on throwing-knives is given by A. E. Robinson (1935, No. 74), and D. Olderogge (1934, No. 128).

The chief thrusting weapons are spears, swords, knives, and daggers (Joyce and Brauholtz, 1925). The largest of African thrusting-spears are employed by horsemen of Bornu in northeast Nigeria; the butts of the broad-bladed weapons are rested on the stirrups. Long cross-hilted swords and arm-daggers have a wide distribution in Africa north of 15° N. Lat.

Fighting wristlets of iron furnished with formidable spikes are in use among the Mittu, the Acholi, and the Lango of the upper Nile, and specimens of similar type have been dug up in the Bauchi plateau, Nigeria. C. K. Meek (1927, No. 29) has described the use of these weapons in single combats that take the form of wrestling bouts among the Kyanga and the Shanga after harvest. He states that combatants face each other and spar for an opening until one contestant gets a grip and forces his spikes into the back of his opponent. When an opponent is down, he receives a knockout blow on the head that may incapacitate him for months, or even cause death (see also Lindblom, 1927a).

Since the first arrival of Europeans four hundred years ago, African Negroes have been anxious to obtain firearms, and these played an important part as currency during days of trading for slaves. Among the Ovimbundu, a few hunters may be seen with muzzle-loading guns, which they charge with scrap-iron. This type of weapon is used by some natives of the Cameroons for shooting short poisoned spears at elephants. At some of the stores in Nigeria these muzzle-loading weapons, called Dane guns, are on sale. Muzzle-loading guns have occasionally formed part of the equipment of a



Negro army, for example, in Dahomey, but the weapon has never been widely used for military purposes.

#### MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS

Military organizations of Africa differed in type according to the relationship between military service and social structure. Negro kingdoms of Ashanti, Dahomey, and Nigeria, as well as those of Kongo and Lunda, had military organizations on which these powerful states relied, but the standing armies were small in relation to the total forces that could be raised by calling on all men for service. Permanent war chiefs were appointed, and these were among the highest officials in the land. These west African systems differed radically from those of the Masai and the Zulu. In these tribes, which are Half-Hamitic and Bantu Negro, respectively, the military systems demanded the full-time employment of all men up to the age of forty years. The armies ranged over wide territories, they were aggressive and predatory at all times, and the military organizations determined the nature of the social and economic structures.

The military organization of the Jagas, a Negro tribe of Angola, which was described by Andrew Battell (1900) in the year 1600, provides an instance of a military organization which was entirely predatory and itinerant, and without the civic background of a state and a definite portion of territory. Under such a system, no agricultural or pastoral pursuits were possible, and even the palm trees were cut down to provide sap for making wine. Sedentary dwellers drew the sap at intervals without injuring the trees. Every economic principle was sacrificed to the necessity of quick movements and surprise attacks. The Jagas destroyed their children, since these were an encumbrance, but to replace this loss by infanticide they adopted captive children who were old enough to fend for themselves. This is, however, an exceptional military organization and not a usual African type.

In describing the army of Dahomey, A. B. Ellis (1890) states that the whole effective male population could be called for service when required, and in addition to men, women were employed for transporting baggage. In time of peace, a smaller standing army was kept. The permanent fighting force included the Amazons, who formed a bodyguard for the king, whose wives they were, at least in name. The corps of Amazons was recruited about 1729 as a body of armed women whose chief function was to swell the ranks of men, so as to create a more imposing sight. King Gezo (1818) improved the force by inspecting girls and enlisting those whom he thought

suitable. The ranks of the Amazons were increased by enlistment of victims who had been spared from the annual sacrifice of human beings. Female criminals and women convicted of adultery were enlisted in the Amazon corps. After entering military service, women were required to abandon all relationships with men, and males were expected to withdraw from view whenever the Amazon corps approached and struck a warning gong. Jawbones of the enemy were valued as trophies, for these were attached to the handles of swords, also to drums and horns used by the Amazons.

J. A. Skertchly (1874, pp. 454-459), who was an unwilling guest of the king of Dahomey in 1871, witnessed state ceremonies at which the corps of Amazons was present. He states that the women were "impudent hussies," who could not hit a haystack at short range when they fired their blunderbusses. But J. Duncan (1847, vol. 2, p. 226), who saw the marching of 600 Amazons in 1846, praises their military precision. The women marched to the roll of drums which were ornamented with the skulls of their enemies. The full corps of Amazons comprised about eight thousand persons, who gave a demonstration of attack by scaling a thornbush enclosure seventy feet wide and eight feet high. The scalps of enemies taken in warfare were permanently preserved and used during maneuvers. Skulls of enemies were used as drinking vessels on ceremonial occasions (R. F. Burton, 1864, vol. 2, pp. 68-85; and Le Hérissé, 1911, p. 59).

An account of military organization among the Yoruba of Nigeria indicates the essential differences between the systems of the western Negro and the eastern Hamite. S. Johnson (1921, p. 132) refers to the absence of a standing army, but states that every man capable of bearing arms was expected to serve in war; yet "the law did not make it compulsory except for men of rank and title, and for home defence." At the conclusion of war, which was largely a matter of quick predatory expeditions into Dahomey, every man returned to his farm. Fanti war organization has recently been described by J. C. de Graft Johnson (1932).

The influence of the Hamitic military system on that of Bantu Negroes may be appreciated by considering the organization of the Masai in conjunction with that of the Zulu, the Bathonga, and the Ba-ila. The social organization of the Masai (Huntingford, 1935) was permanently based on the creation and maintenance of a large army in which all males served as long as they were in the warrior grade, and at the conclusion of military service the soldiers discarded

their weapons to enter the ruling grade, consisting of elderly men (Merker, 1904, pp. 82-85; Hollis, 1905, pp. 120, 132, 178).

No uncircumcised boys were allowed to carry spears or swords, but after initiatory rites the newly circumcised were enrolled in the age-grade of warriors. Soldiers were not allowed to marry, but they cohabited with girls who lived together in charge of older women. Each age-grade and subdistrict had its own design for decorating shields and for marking spears. Magical preparations for war included the pouring of milk over the ground, and women sprinkled the warriors with milk. Among the Masai, milk and grass, which are sacred symbols of pastoral life, are important in all ceremonies, including peace-making at the conclusion of hostilities.

The military system of the Masai affected the whole of Kenya and Tanganyika Territory, but the Masai did not come into direct conflict with the Zulu. British and German intrusion came as a wedge between the southern advance of the Masai and the northern advance of the Zulu. Extension of Zulu power up the east side of Africa imposed a military system on the Bathonga of Portuguese East Africa, while the Ba-ila, the Wayao, the Wahehe, and the Wanyamwezi were also affected by Zulu contacts.

The Wahehe (A. G. O. Hodgson, 1926a, pp. 37-58) relied principally on their spears and shields, as did the Zulu, and in addition to these weapons they carried crescentic axes. Feather head-dresses were worn, and a cloth was tied round the arm to indicate bravery. The night before the warriors left camp was occupied by making war medicine. This task was given to a medicine-man who worked in the house of spirits around which the army paraded before setting out the following morning. Each warrior gave himself speed by rubbing his knees with the medicine, and he was protected by taboos placed on his wife, who was forbidden to bathe while he was on a journey. Infraction of the taboos involved death of the husband.

Sexual relations with captured women were forbidden before they had been brought home and distributed by the Sultan, and rape of these women might be punished with death. If a female objected to cohabiting with her captor, she was usually permitted to select another partner. Sometimes Wahehe warriors drank the blood of the men they had killed, saying, "We are eating men." After the battle, every warrior placed the testicles of the man or men he had killed on the point of his spear, but the trophies were buried after they had been shown to the Sultan.

Returning soldiers of the Wahehe were welcomed by their women, who threw rice on the ground. A feast and drinking of beer followed, and at this ceremony distinctions were conferred by the Sultan, who shared the prisoners equally between the warriors and himself. Cowards were punished by having to drink water until their stomachs were greatly swollen, or they might have to carry grinding-stones on their heads to indicate that they were fit only for a woman's occupation.

So brutal was the discipline of Chaka, the Zulu leader, that some of his generals rebelled and placed themselves at the head of independent troops (W. S. Fergusson, 1918, pp. 197-234). Moselekatze carried out conquests north of the Vaal and the Limpopo rivers, while Soon-Kundava advanced into the southern part of Portuguese East Africa. The rigors of training in the Zulu army included long waterless marches, military exercises in which one company was commanded to attack another with the zest and weapons of actual warfare, and the execution of supposed cowards, who were selected by witchcraft. The unsuccessful were put to death. An efficient system of espionage was developed.

Chaka's standing army numbered about fifteen thousand men, who were divided into regiments (*ekanda*), each of which contained from six hundred to one thousand warriors commanded by an *induna*, who had nine subordinates. Near each military camp were villages that supplied meat and other commodities to the troops. Men were engaged in active service until their fortieth year and during that time they were forbidden to marry, but they had access to girls living near their camps. Elderly disabled warriors formed a reserve class called "the mice," and for these domestic life was permitted.

A typical regiment consisted of two grades of warriors: the juniors, who carried shields of black hide; and the veterans, who used white shields with black spots. In order to enlist in the army, boys of about sixteen years of age went to the kraals of their fathers' regiments and milked the cows in such a way that the milk came directly into the mouths of the milkers. These youths were then paraded before the paramount chief and enrolled in the army. A large number of boys were employed as camp followers who carried baggage for the army, performed menial work, and so received their first experience of warfare. For information on military organization in Swaziland, H. Beemer (1937) should be consulted.

The story of Zulu exploits is one of devastation of land, crops, and villages, together with confiscation of the herds of the

conquered. Over large areas, populations were annihilated and those who survived a massacre died of famine.

The military system, equipment, and tactics of the Bathonga, who were conquered by the Zulu about the year 1820, resembled that of their conquerors. Before this time, the Bathonga had not been a military tribe, but subjugation changed the whole aspect of their organization and they became incorporated with the warlike Angoni. H. A. Junod (1912, vol. 1, p. 439) points out that polygyny was a direct result of warfare, since the Bathonga killed male prisoners and married captured women.

The martial equipment of the Bathonga resembled that of east African warriors in general. Head decorations consisted of ostrich feather plumes and porcupine quills; arm-bands of leather were worn; oval shields of oxhide were carried; and spears were of two kinds. The heavier spear was used in hand-to-hand fighting, and light assagais were carried for throwing.

The Bathonga army was mustered by swift messengers who ran the length and breadth of the country, blowing war trumpets. All men—and every man was obliged to serve—brought out their panoply of war and converged on the capital. Here they were arranged in companies, each of which had a distinguishing head-dress, an animal name as an emblem, and a war cry in imitation of the emblematic animal.

The war dance was a pantomimic display arranged to produce intense excitement and to give unity of purpose. The medicine-men provided each man with a concoction that the soldier put into his mouth and spat out again. The warriors were then seated with heads bowed on their knees, while an old woman entered the circle and sprinkled medicine on their heads. Meanwhile she cursed the enemy, "Kill them! kill the dogs! break their pots! capture their chief!"

Further preparations consisted of killing a bull whose flesh was cooked, and to the mixture were added scrapings from the dried fingers of enemies killed in battle. This brew was called "the medicine of hatred," and it was fed to the soldiers by their commander, who threw the meat into their mouths. The commander consecrated shields by striking them, and to test further the loyalty of his men he held a flaming torch near their plumes, in the belief that the feathers of a coward would catch fire.

Warriors returning from the fight were thought to be defiled because they were followed by *nuru*, a name given to the ghost of a

slain enemy. To remove the defilement, the warriors had to observe prohibitions against sexual intercourse. They had to use special vessels for cooking. Cuts were made between their eyebrows, and into these incisions protective medicines were rubbed.

The Ba-ila (Bantu) of Rhodesia were affected by contact with the Matabele, whose tactics were part of the Zulu system, yet the Ba-ila never organized a military system comparable to that of the Zulu. The Ba-ila spent much time in mimic warfare, and, like the Zulu, they indulged in realistic fighting at close quarters (Smith and Dale, vol. 1, pp. 170-179). In actual warfare no quarter was given, and every enemy, whether dead or not, was beheaded, so that a pile of heads, and later the preserved skulls, might be exhibited by the conquerors. Testicles of slain enemies were excised and eaten, but it was said that a coward who partook of them would vomit, while the heart of a brave warrior would be strengthened. The practice of piling skull trophies was a Matabele custom. Eating parts of the dead foe was characteristic of Zulu rites; so also was the act of anointing the tongues of the warriors to preserve the victors from the malevolent ghosts of their enemies.

#### HEAD-HUNTING AND CANNIBALISM

These practices are local and intermittent. Head-hunting and cannibal tribes were located until recent times in the central pagan belt of Nigeria from Yola to the Zaria province. All the cannibal tribes were head-hunters, but some head-hunting tribes were not cannibals. C. K. Meek has prepared a list of thirty-four cannibal tribes and twenty-seven head-hunting tribes (1925, vol. 2, pp. 48-53).

"The acquisition of an enemy's head is the young man's passport to manhood. Until he has attained this distinction his social status is no better than that of a girl, and no girl would consent to marry him. But when he has won his trophy, and can prove that it was obtained in the manner prescribed by custom, he can take his place in the ranks of warriors, and his prowess is celebrated by a public feast." Drinking from the skulls of enemies was customary among head-hunters, and rites were performed to render the spirits of the victims harmless.

Religious rites were performed in connection with head-hunting. The Tangale took the captured heads to a sacred grove, where the officiating priest made a prayer cursing the kindred of the dead man and asking for further success in head-hunting. Flesh from the heads

was eaten at a ceremonial meal, and after one year rites of purification for the victors were performed. Cannibalism was mainly ceremonial, and the bodies of victims were eaten at the sacred shrines of the victors (see also Tremearne, 1912a, 1912b, and R. Steinmetz, 1896, pp. 1-60).

Many social, linguistic, and physical miscegenations can be ascribed to warfare over extensive territories during a long period, and among cultural changes due to warfare the institution of slavery is of primary social and economic importance.

#### SLAVERY

This heading includes several distinct divisions of the subject, which differ in their social and economic aspects. The main divisions of the subject are: (1) The European and American slave trade with west Africa. (2) Arab raids and slave trading among Negro tribes. (3) Slavery among Negroes and Hamiticized Negroes themselves as a result of warfare. (4) Domestic slavery within tribes. This institution includes the pawning of persons who by their labor discharge debts, either for themselves or for a relative.

#### EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN TRADE

The European slave trade with Africa, which began about the year 1600, was important economically because of its contribution to the commerce and exploration of the continent. During two centuries the Dutch, Portuguese, British, French, Spanish, and American nations competed for this lucrative traffic in slaves, and, in addition, merchants carried on trade to secure gold and ivory in exchange for European commodities.

Commercial enterprise and exploration of the maritime region from Sierra Leone to the mouth of the Congo led to the establishment of rival European trading posts, whose governors entered into alliances with African chiefs. Gradually the control of trading companies which were authorized by government charters was replaced by direct government control, until at last a tense political situation was created and Africa was partitioned into spheres of influence; then later a more precise division into possessions was recognized among European powers.

The foreign slave trade with Africa exerted strong political influence that tended either to build up or to disintegrate African states, and the export of Negroes led to a transfer of African culture to Brazil, Guiana, the West Indies, and the southern states of North America (Herskovits, M. J. and F. S. London, 1934; H. H. Johnston,

1910). But at last the traffic in slaves was repudiated by American and European countries early in the nineteenth century, though a clandestine trade survived for many years after the formal repudiation. Several important journeys of exploration were undertaken with a view to checking the activities of slavers, and two instances of such journeys are those of David Livingstone (1843-70) and Commander L. Cameron (1875).

Of the actual operation of the European slave trade in Africa, W. Bosman, chief factor for the Dutch at Elmina (1705) and Mungo Park (1799), a Scottish explorer (1795-1805), have left accounts in their journals. W. Bosman (1907) states that most of the slaves who were offered to Europeans at the coast were prisoners of war. These unfortunates were imprisoned in forts and compounds until their prospective masters had made terms with the vendors. He continues:

"They are all brought out together, where by our surgeons whose province it is, they are thoroughly examined even to the smallest member, and that naked too, both men and women, without the least distinction or modesty. The invalids and the maimed being thrown out as I have told you, the remainder are numbered and it is entered who delivered them. In the meanwhile a burning-iron with the arms or names of the companies lies in the fire, with which ours are marked on the breast. This is done that we may distinguish them from the slaves of the English, French, or others, which are also marked with their mark. I doubt not but this trade seems very barbarous to you, but since it is followed by necessity it must go on, but we yet take all possible care that they are not burned too hard, especially the women, who are more tender than the men." Further information on this subject is given by G. E. Martin (1930), editor of N. Owen's "Journal of a Slave Dealer." The attitude of the church toward the slave trade, before the year A.D. 1500 has been described by R. W. Logan (1932). Canot's lurid account has run into many editions; he gives background, but one must beware of embellishments.

#### ARAB SLAVE TRADE

The activities of Arabs as slavers in the interior of Africa aided the spread of Mohammedanism, disseminated the Arabic language, led to physical miscegenation of different tribes of Negroes, and the interbreeding of Tuaregs, Berbers, and Arabs with their Negro slaves. Cultural elements were also distributed by Arab contacts with Negroes, and in Tunisia a distinct west African culture survives



today among Hausa communities. The institution of slavery has profoundly affected the social organization and the economic life of the Tuareg, the Arabs and Berbers of north Africa, and the Negro tribes of the eastern Sudan.

According to B. Meakin, (1902, pp. 133-141), who studied the subject of slavery in Morocco, the treatment given by Arabs to their slaves when the desert journey was ended was far more humane than that accorded to Negroes who were transported to the New World by Europeans and Americans. In Morocco, Negro blood was not a social disadvantage, and slaves, together with their progeny, were to some extent protected by Koranic law. Exceptional instances of cruelty occurred, and slaves were openly sold in the markets, but a wealthy master would scorn to have his slaves ill fed, miserably clothed, or badly housed.

Yet the lot of many slaves under Arab rule was a hard one, for not all were comfortably settled in domestic service, and droves might be sold like cattle. Meakin states that according to Koranic law masters could mate their slaves, but they were not allowed to separate husbands, wives, and their children. Children of masters by their slaves were free persons, and the mothers of such children could not be sold, but gained their freedom on the death of their master.

No legal slavery exists in Africa today under European rule, but numerous Negroes are slaves, and descendants of slaves, who are still living in tribes foreign to them. Mass migration of these domestic slaves to the places of their origin is impossible, and they continue as serfs who are no longer subject to sale and violence. Lord Noel Buxton (1932, p. 450) reports that raiding villages and taking away slaves still occurs in the western lowlands of Abyssinia.

Of the Tuareg of Air, F. R. Rodd (1926, p. 135) states, "Neither the advent of a European power, nor subsequent changes in the social structure of the country, had very much effect on the position of slaves in Air." The Tuareg divide their slaves into two categories—household slaves and outdoor slaves—and both of these classes are chattels in local customary law, yet slavery among the Tuareg never involved real hardship. Under Arabs and Tuareg alike, the general tendency has been for the slave class to settle, subserviently it is true, but nevertheless not unhappily. Such facts do not, however, mitigate the horrors of slave raiding and the gruesome marches through deserts and forests to a destination that was reached by only a small proportion of a slave gang.

Arab slave caravans of Libya and the eastern Sudan were described by J. L. Burckhardt (1822, pp. 290-295) more than a century ago. He records that during the journey from Dafur to Egypt males were tied to a long pole, one end of which was fastened to a camel saddle, while the forked end of the pole was made fast about the slave's neck. In addition to this, the right hand of the slave was tied to the pole, and in that position he marched the whole day behind the camel. Yet the treatment of slaves who settled in domestic service was kind rather than otherwise, since they were seldom flogged, were well fed, and were not overworked.

Two Arab practices were the castration of some male slaves and the infibulation of girls. Emasculation of boys who were intended as eunuch servants was a source of profit to their masters. Burekhardt reports that the operation was often performed at a village near Siout in upper Egypt:

"The operators during my stay in that part of the country were two Coptic monks who were said to excel all their predecessors in dexterity, and who had a house in which the victims were received. The operation very seldom proved fatal. I know certainly that of sixty boys on whom the operation was performed in 1813 only two died. The usual age for the operation is from eight to twelve years. Before the operation the boys are each worth 300 piastres, but their value after emasculation is a thousand piastres. The Copts received from forty-five to sixty piastres for each operation. This enormous profit stifles any sentiment of mercy which the traders might otherwise entertain." Castrated boys were sold into the harems of north Africa, Egypt, and Arabia.

The infibulation of girls, described by Burekhardt and also by W. G. Browne (1799, pp. 349-350), preserved virginity, and so made slave girls more valuable as concubines.

In describing the status of slaves among the Bedouin Arabs of Kufra and other Libyan oases in 1922, A. M. Hassanein Bey (1925, pp. 179-181; 259-260) states that in order to avoid the vigilance of French authority in Dafur, where slavery and the export of slaves are forbidden, Bedouins contract slave marriages in Wadai. This the Arabs do with the intention of divorcing their slave wives at Kufra where the value of a female slave is from 150 to 200 dollars, while the price of a male is rather less. If the owner of a slave girl marries her and she bears him a male child, the mother can claim her freedom. The child of a slave woman and a free man is always free, and even if left an orphan the child of such parentage cannot be

enslaved. Slaves may rise to positions of affluence in the service of their masters, and every owner of slaves would think himself discredited if his slaves were not well fed and adequately clothed. A freed slave is disdained by slaves who are in the service of wealthy men, and slaves who are emancipated are ashamed not to be attached to persons of importance. In the absence of other children, the son of a slave woman by her master becomes the head of a tribe or sub-tribe without any color prejudice whatsoever.

Canon C. H. Robinson (1900, pp. 127-240) has provided a detailed account of slavery in northern Nigeria toward the end of the nineteenth century, for, although the British formally renounced the export of slaves from Africa about the year 1836, slavery existed within British spheres of influence in the interior for a long period. In Nigeria, Mohammedans attacked tribes who had not been converted to Islam, and from Bornu alone ten thousand slaves were annually exported across the Sahara to Tripoli. In the year 1894, five hundred slaves were daily sold in the markets of Kano. In accordance with Koranic law, slaves had a legal status; they were often well treated and had the position of adopted children (Meek, 1925, vol. 1, pp. 287-293).

Eunuchs and other slaves frequently attained high positions, and, among the Fulani, slaves were often freed so that they might assume the guardianship of their master's property and children. Slaves were sometimes allowed to farm on their own account, and though the master might lay claim to the produce he never did so; consequently, slaves might become persons of considerable substance. Slaves accompanied their masters to war and on trading expeditions, and freedom was given to a slave who made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

#### DOMESTIC SLAVERY AND PAWNING

Data given by R. S. Rattray (1923, pp. 43, 230) further emphasize the degree of social freedom given to slaves. Wealthy males of the Ashanti purchased female slaves, by whom they had children. Since these women came from outside the Ashanti nation, they had no *abusua* (clan) in the Ashanti sense of the word, but their children, though lacking female lineage of the Ashanti type, had *ntoro* (male essence or spirit) of their father and master. The slave woman and her children grew up within the family of the master, who recognized them as members of his household. If the direct family line became extinct, a slave child, who might be a great-great-grand-child of the original female slave, would take precedence as heir over a distant relative who might be likely to take away movable

property, so leaving the home and the ancestral spirits neglected. The slave, male or female, who was chosen as successor and heir remained at the homestead, where he performed rites in honor of the ancestral spirits. Lands were sometimes given to a favorite slave for life, but instead of reverting to the owner this property was inherited by children of the slave.

The conditions of slavery among the Wahehe of east Africa again show that the indigenous African slavery was of a more humane type than that practiced by European traders (Hodgson, 1926a, p. 48). The Wahehe derived their slaves from various sources. The bondmen might be captives of war, prisoners for whom the death penalty had been commuted, children of a man who had been executed, or those who had been pawned to pay off debts. These slaves were engaged in domestic or agricultural work, and their master might sell or hire them to another person. Slaves might be beaten by their owners, but they had rights of appeal to the Sultan.

Females slaves were not lent to a stranger without their consent. No loss of social standing occurred when a freeman married a slave woman. The status of a child was the same as that of the mother; therefore, if a free woman married a male slave, her child would be a free person. Emasculation was not practiced by the Wahehe, though the Wayao, a neighboring tribe, sometimes followed this custom. Among the Wahehe, a slave could acquire property and bequeath it to his or her children. A male slave might gain his freedom by prowess in war, and if he captured one of the enemy he became the master of that man, and, therefore, himself a slave owner.

Slavery among the Ovimbundu of Angola illustrated several forms of this institution. The Bihéans, who are a northern section of the Ovimbundu, were renowned traders whose carriers crossed the Congo region and Rhodesia to the shores of Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika. There, and along the route, slaves and ivory were purchased with guns, powder, and other Portuguese imports. The slaves were eventually exported from the Angolan seaport of Benguela to the Portuguese colony of Brazil. This traffic constituted an external foreign trade in slaves, and so built up the wealth and prestige of the Ovimbundu.

Slaves captured in warfare, for instance, from the Vachokwe of eastern Angola, who were hostile to Ovimbundu caravans, were sometimes permanently incorporated in households of the Ovimbundu. A further class of slaves comprised individuals taken in warfare

among kingdoms of the Ovimbundu confederacy, and in addition to these bondmen many persons worked as pawns to pay off debts. The debts might be personal or the liabilities of a relative, and in some instances men and their families became slaves because they were unable to pay fines imposed for theft, murder, or adultery.

A definite distinction was made between the treatment of slaves acquired from hostile tribes and those who, either as prisoners or pawns from the Ovimbundu kingdoms, had descended to the ranks of slavery. Over his foreign slaves a master had rights of punishment, including a death sentence, but any slave could appeal to the headman of a village for justice. All children of foreign slaves became the slaves of their master, and he could sell them at pleasure. The Ovimbundu never came into touch with Mohammedan law; therefore, Koranic injunctions on this subject did not apply. Under no circumstances could a slave acquire property if he came from outside the Ovimbundu confederacy. Foreign slaves were not branded, but the general treatment was harsh, and runaway slaves were hunted with dogs. A foreign slave had no prospect of buying his freedom since he had no independent earnings. He might be a blacksmith or other artisan, but his master had no responsibility except that of providing food.

The Ovimbundu had no slave markets, but every man knew where slaves could be privately purchased. Slave women were not lent out for prostitution, and a master of slaves did not have promiscuous intercourse with the women, though he might choose two or three as concubines. In former days, slaves were killed and eaten at the accession of a new king, and before a large caravan set out, a medicine-man killed a slave and an ox with the same spear. The meats were cooked together and ceremonially eaten by members of the caravan.

Slaves among the Ovimbundu confederacy were well treated, adequately fed, and not overworked, since their master hoped that the freedom of his serfs would be purchased. In case of unpaid debts or fines, there was always the hope that relatives would discharge the obligation, provided their kinsfolk were liberated in good physical condition.

Ngonga, my informant, stated that he had recently paid several oxen for the redemption of his brother and sister, who had worked for a long period to pay off the debts of their mother's brother. Ngonga's sister was ten years of age when she was taken to serve as a pawn, but when set free she was a woman with three children.

Ngonga's brother was not taken from his home, but he worked for a creditor of his mother's brother, and the reward for the labor was taken to pay the debts of that relative. Pawning of this kind still forms a part of the Negro social system, the abuse of which has been a subject of investigation by the League of Nations in Liberia and elsewhere (F. D. Lugard, 1933a; Rattray, 1932).

A strong religious and magical element has been observed in all the beliefs and institutions that are united to form a pattern of social organization and types of social control. The functions of kinship, law, secret societies, and other aspects of tribal life have been shown in close relation to spiritual forces that are superior to the power of man. Finally, the nature of these spiritual forces should be examined, especially with reference to deism, ancestor worship, the sacredness of kings, and the powers of medicine-men and their magic.

## VI. RELIGION

### DIFFICULTIES OF STUDY

The difficulty of making a sympathetic and discerning study of Negro religion is illustrated by the words of W. Bosman, who, though a capable observer, said of the Ashanti, "Their religion is so absurd that I scarce know how to describe it." And in summing up he adds, "To conclude their ridiculous religion I shall add a small account of their festivals." Bosman, like many more recent observers, experienced a difficulty in understanding the philosophy and psychology of which the rites were an expression (translation, A. Jones, 1907).

If an investigator confines his attention to concrete expressions of beliefs, he observes rites of ancestor worship, also the use of shrines and sacred objects, together with the ritual and equipment of medicine-men, all of which are direct, practical, and functional. But if the inquiry is extended in order to provide explanations of conduct, a realm of abstruse ideas is entered. The psychological background of religious exercises and magical practices is related to ideas of God, the fate of a soul, ancestor worship, multiple souls and their functions, reincarnation of ancestral spirits, and the processes by which ritual acts, prayers, and spells are supposed to achieve their purpose by making contacts with ghosts of the dead.

The difficulties that beset inquiry into Negro religion are typical of those that retard analysis of all religious beliefs and symbolic acts. Beliefs and ritual are accepted by force of suggestion in early childhood without question of their validity, and a definite attitude toward the spiritual is formed without criticism or any attempt to justify and explain. A Negro, when questioned, may be unwilling to discuss his rites and concepts, and, even if communicative, he finds that his own vocabulary, though suited to the expression of his ideas, has no true equivalents in a European language.

In this chapter, an attempt is made to give a concise account of functions rather than philosophy. We must recognize local differences of belief and ritual among the Bantu, Sudanic, and Nilotic Negroes; yet some common beliefs and practices are present. Despite differences, certain fundamentals can be established with regard to ideas of God, the sacredness of kings and chiefs, survival after death, ancestor worship, reincarnation, and the functions of medicine-men.

An instructive example of a philosophical approach may be found in G. Landtman's "The Origin of Sacrifice" (1984). This writer reviews various theories respecting the nature of primitive religious beliefs and exercises. He takes practical examples to gauge the extent to which philosophy has been justified in its explanations of sacrifice, taboo, and other aspects of spiritual life.

These factors of spiritual life are closely related, with great complexity of belief and expression. Ideas of God and concepts of the nature of kingship are linked factors, and both are intimately concerned with the theory and practice of ancestor worship. By virtue of their training, their hereditary power in some instances, and their equipment and ritual, all medicine-men are a liaison between the sacred and the profane. There exist two worlds, those of the flesh and the spirit, and the practical problem of religion is to bridge the gulf between them so that the spiritual world may serve the interests of agriculture, handicraft, law, family organization, human fecundity, and immunity from disease or catastrophe.

#### THE IDEA OF GOD

Deistic beliefs of the Ovimbundu of Angola are typical of concepts of a supreme God among Bantu Negroes. Suku is the most important spiritual being of the Ovimbundu, who say that he made the mountains, rivers, sky, and people. Some informants associated the name of Suku with rain, but the word does not mean rain, water, or food, since these are designated by the words *ombela*, *ovava*, and *okulia*, respectively.

In connection with the concept of Suku as a creator, a story states that in the beginning all was water; then a man came from above and caused land to appear. When out hunting, this first inhabitant saw a strange animal which he was about to shoot, but refrained when he observed that the creature was like himself. He captured the creature, took it home, mated, and raised a family.

Ideas of Suku emphasize his importance as a creator, but Suku gives no commands, offers no rewards, and threatens no punishments. He is too far away to be intimately concerned with the affairs of men, and the concept of this supreme being cannot be said to influence ethics, law, and general behavior; neither does Suku demand sacrifice or prayer.

An article by E. Torday (1928c, pp. 225-245) summarizes theistic beliefs of the southwestern Bantu, of which the Ovimbundu are a part. Torday points out that Nzambi is a god who, with trifling



modifications in the name, is known over a great part of the Bantu Negro area, from the Bakongo to the Barotse, and from the Bangala to the Ovaherero. The Bakongo call him Nzambi Mpungu. Antonio Cavazzi, who was a missionary to the lower Congo in the period 1654-70, states that in olden times the kings of Angola adored an idol named Kalunga, that is, the sea, or, according to others the Supreme Lord. The name still survives among the Ovimbundu as a word of greeting, and as the title of an exalted spiritual being.

South of the Ovimbundu, the Vakwanyama and other sections of the Ovambo use the word Kalunga (or Karunga) for a supreme being who is connected with Nzambi in the thoughts of the people. But these deities, though benign, are too remote to be interested in the lives of men, and in comparison with the active ancestral spirits the higher gods are unimportant.

Similarly, among the southeastern Bantu, there are concepts of a high god. P. V. Cathrein (1915, pp. 307-322) has examined the connotations of such words as Unkulunkulu and Uthlanga, who for several Zulu tribes were creators and supreme beings. After taking into consideration the research of Canon H. Callaway (1870), Cathrein states, that notwithstanding confusion of ideas arising from European intrusions, and a change of concepts with place and period, the Zulu had an indigenous idea of a supreme being. The Zulu god was a creator, one who punished, one who controlled thunder and lightning, and a deity who demanded sacrifice. The Zulu concept represents a god less otiose than Nzambi or Kalunga, but nevertheless not so functional as the spirits of dead ancestors.

H. A. Junod proves a close connection between ancestor worship and deism by showing that the Bathonga create their gods from souls of dead relatives. "Any man who has departed this earthly life becomes a *shikwembu*—a god." The two principal categories revered by the Bathonga are those of the family and those of the country. These deities are developed from the souls of dead commoners and deceased royalty, respectively. "In national calamities the gods of the country are invoked, while for purely family matters those of the family are called on." The process of making gods is always active, and several clearly defined classes of gods exist in addition to the two divisions mentioned, namely, the national and the family deities.

Each family has two groups of gods, one on the maternal and one on the paternal side of the family. These gods are equal in

power, and both are invoked though there is a general assumption that the maternal gods are more tender-hearted.

The "gods of bitterness" are the spirits of persons who have been drowned, killed by a wild beast, or have committed suicide. These gods include the spirits of pregnant women who have been buried without being cut open. This palpable evidence of the creation of deistic ideas given by H. A. Junod (1912, vol. 2, p. 347) is more instructive than a transcendentalism that assumes the existence of a supreme being who directs the aspirations of all men. The view expressed by W. C. Willoughby (1928a, p. 338) is to the effect that "there is an instinct for God that tells upon behaviour—an upward urge that makes for betterment, and that this is due to the unwearied play of the spirit of God on the souls of men." The creation of gods is a natural thought-process that must have occurred independently many times, since the basic concept is that of a clever creator who is all-powerful.

To continue with the deism of the southern Bantu: the Bavenda have Khuzwane, the creator, and his followers Thovhela and Raluvhimba. These gods are honored lightly, yet some offerings are made to them, and their names are venerated. The lesser regional deities have, however, more real spiritual influence, and in particular the spirits of the dead ancestors are objects of veneration, since they are believed to have benevolent as well as malign influence. Animistic beliefs relating to the spirits of trees, rivers, and mountains are important (A. M. Duggan-Cronin, 1928-31, vol. 1, p. 21).

The cosmology of the Lambas indicates the functions of the more remote spiritual beings who, though not intimate with the lives of men, are in charge of controlling forces. Rain is supplied from a lake above the dome of sky, and all water is in charge of the god Lesa. Thunder and lightning are the scoldings of Lesa. Beings of minor importance clean the sun and push the orb across the sky. They also light the fires of the sun and keep them burning. The moon also has workers who wash it clean, and the relationship of the sun to the moon is that of maternal uncle. This cosmology shows what is characteristic of Bantu religion, namely, the projection of mundane ideas into a spiritual universe (Doke, 1931c, pp. 222-225).

The deism of Sudanic Negroes of Ashanti, Dahomey, and some parts of Nigeria is more definite and operative than that of most Bantu Negroes, yet concepts of supreme beings are, on the whole, of secondary importance in comparison with the active proximity

of lesser gods and ancestral spirits. As an example of functional deism, the worship of Buku, the highest being of Atakpame, Togoland, may be considered. Beliefs include not only a rich mythology, but many definite commands and prohibitions. Buku is himself represented by a club-like object before which the worshipers have to make obeisance. Followers of Buku are expected to give reverence, sacrifice, and praise to their god, and they must swear their oaths by Buku in legal procedure. The outward symbols of allegiance to Buku are corporal paintings on head, face, and feet as well as the wearing of a cowrie-shell necklace and the carrying of a staff. Buku has his own priesthood (P. F. Müller, 1906-1908).

Prohibitions during sacred periods include sexual continence, abstention from all work, avoidance of bridges and canoes, and refusal to climb a hill or to ascend to the second story of a house. A worshiper of Buku is not allowed to sacrifice a female animal, and no offering of a dog or a pig may be made.

Evidence of deism in Ashanti shows a well-developed worship of supreme beings, who, according to R. S. Rattray (1923, 1927), are not a result of the theological teachings of Europeans. Nyame, the Sky god and supreme being of the Ashanti, differs from the Suku, Nzambi, and Kalunga of the southwestern Bantu in having shrines, a priesthood, and a definite system of worship with elaborate ritual. Moreover, Nyame is responsible for the lesser tutelary gods, who preside as genii of rivers, lakes, and the sea. Some of these beings are the sons of Nyame.

The priests of Nyame are dedicated to life service. They dress their hair in a peculiar manner and have ornaments with figures of the sun, moon, and stars embossed on them. Once a year, offerings of mashed yams are made to Nyame with the prayer, "My God, I pray you for life and I pray you for strength." Here is a functioning god, a supreme being who is in touch with the needs of men. But Rattray points out that the *obosum* or lesser gods are more important than Nyame in the practical affairs of everyday life. A similar deism, with a hierarchy of gods, some of whose names are the same as those of Ashanti, is described by L. Tauxier (1932, pp. 64-125; 219-227).

A. Le Hérisse (1911, pp. 96, 99, 137) states that in Dahomey there is belief in a supreme being, Mahou or Sê, but this god is not represented in statues or symbols; neither is there a cult for him. His name means "principle" or "intelligence," and the word is pronounced in exclamations and invocations. Mahou created the

universe and many holy objects (Le Hérissé uses the word fetishes), which he is said to own through Vôdoun, whose name is applied to the sea, thunder, a monstrosity, and any force. The local Vôdoun are of greater practical importance than Mahou, since they control the lives of men. Legba, one of the Vôdoun, can grant or refuse offspring. The guardian spirits, which sometimes reside in trees and stones, are the chief functional spiritual beings.

According to the data of M. J. and F. S. Herskovits (1933), Dahomean religion includes a belief in a Sky god, who partitioned the universe and gave special powers to a hierarchy of lesser gods. This corresponds with the theistic beliefs of Ashanti and the Ivory Coast, as reported by Rattray and Tauxier, respectively. Herskovits says that the religion of Dahomey is Vodou worship; even the cult of ancestors is a Vodou cult, for the dead are deified and the Vodou are the gods. Each Dahomean identifies himself with the cult of his particular pantheon. The great gods are not individual deities, but pantheons on whom the kingdom is dependent for protection and nourishment. The cult of the great gods is not so practically important in daily life as the cult of ancestors, comprising deified ancestors and the recent dead. The founders of the more important sibs rank with the great gods, and a link between deism and ancestor worship is provided by a cult of the spirits who represent the first offspring of the original supernatural founders of the principal sibs. The domain of the goddess Mawu is the moon, and she is represented as controlling the universe. Lisa, who rules the sun, is a male. Aido Hwedo, the serpent deity who carries thunderbolts to earth and lies under the earth to support its weight, stands for the personification of gods who preceded those with whom Dahomean tradition begins. Herskovits then describes the sky pantheon and the thunder pantheon, together with the ancestral cult and the functioning of personal spirits and powers.

C. K. Meek (1931a, pp. 197, 217) states that "the Jukun, for all their devotion to the cults of royal and family ancestors, have a fundamental belief in the Supreme control of the Universe by an inscrutable Being who is known as Chido or Shido, i.e., the Sky-God." Ama is another god of importance, but a distinction exists between Chido and Ama, although the Jukun sometimes declare that the two deities are identical. Meek suggests that this idea of the unity of the gods comes from Mohammedan teaching. Chido is identified with all celestial phenomena and with the sun in particular. Ama is a creator, and fashioner of men.

But despite an advanced theism the "work-a-day religion of the Jukun is the cult of ancestors. On the national side, this assumes the form of the cult of dead kings, who become gods; and in its private aspect it assumes the character of a propitiation of ancestors who are regarded as being in close association with the gods and even with the supreme deities Chido and Ama. The cult of ancestors is not to be thought of as a distinct cult from that of the higher deities. For the cult of the one is the cult of the other, and conversely. When national rites are performed on account of a dead chief or of any deity, the ancestors are thought to be present; and when private rites are performed on behalf of ancestors the gods are also believed to be close at hand."

The Yoruba believe in the existence of an almighty god whom they term Olorun, Lord of Heaven. He is acknowledged to be the maker of heaven and earth but is too exalted to concern himself directly with men and their affairs. The word Olorun is applied to god alone and is never used in the plural to denote Orisas. Kings and other notables may be termed Orisas, but the word Olorun is reserved for the great god alone. Sango, Oya, Orisa, and Oko are deified heroes. Orisala, a co-worker with Olorun, gave man his human form. Ogun is a god of war and of all instruments made of iron (S. Johnson 1921, pp. 26-39; 143-150). He is patron of the blacksmith's craft; and so the pantheon continues, gods having their wives and other relatives who attain the status of lesser gods after the manner of the ancient Egyptian pantheon, with which C. K. Meek (1931a, p. 122) has drawn some arresting analogies. Dedication to such lesser gods has led to the establishment of an Osu system among the Ibo (S. Leith-Ross, 1937).

Among the Shilluk and some other Nilotic Negroes, the name Jwok denotes the highest spiritual being, who, though a creator, is not particularly revered. Yet he is high above the spirits of the dead in the spiritual world. He dwells above, is the originator of death, and determines the fortune of men; but the name Jwok is seldom mentioned (P. W. Hofmayr 1911, pp. 120-131; pp. 185-242). The Shilluk have more regard for Nyakang, a god who was once a king and whose spirit is reincarnated in every king of the Shilluk people. Worship of family ancestors is the activating religious principle which is most intimately associated with daily life (C. G. Seligman, 1930, pp. 176-179).

Consideration of theistic ideas shows that these are present to varying degree among Bantu, Sudanic, and Nilotic Negroes. But

in all tribes the importance of the lesser gods is emphasized because they are closely concerned with the lives of man. I would say that the resemblances of deistic beliefs among Negroes are far more impressive than the differences.

Supreme gods are somewhat otiose, yet an exception must be made with regard to some areas of west Africa. In parts of the Ivory Coast, Ashanti, Dahomey, and certain regions of Nigeria a god-concept is clearly defined. The supreme deity, together with a hierarchy of lesser gods, has definite functions, and a tangible recognition in sacrifice and prayer. These are lacking among Bantu Negroes in their concept of Nzambi and Karunga. Whether this local development of functional theism has resulted from an importation of ideas, or whether the theology is indigenous, is uncertain; but the special aspects of the religion are clear.

According to R. P. J. van Wing, Nzambi is not a man or a woman, nor an ancestor hero, nor an animal, nor heaven, nor earth. Nzambi is unique and separate from the rest. Nzambi is Nzambi. "On ne définit pas Dieu." (See "... L'Etre suprême des Bakongo," *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, Paris, Tome 10, 1920, pp. 75-81.)

There exists, however, a comparable groundwork in Negro religion, since the sacredness of kings and chiefs, together with the activity of all ancestral spirits, and a belief in their reincarnation, can be shown to be of paramount importance in all Negro life.

### SACRED KINGS

The office of kingship, in both its temporal and spiritual aspects, is particularly well developed in the region from Ashanti through Dahomey, and into Nigeria. But similar beliefs and practices prevail among some Nilotic and Bantu Negroes, though often without the elaboration and the emphasis that characterize the religion of certain western Negroes.

### WEST AFRICAN KINGS

The Ashanti regard the souls of dead kings with the deepest reverence, and a reigning king officiates as a high priest at annual ceremonies for propitiating ancestral souls and asking from them temporal benefits. Various sacred objects are shrines that can temporarily accommodate the souls of the dead, and among these cult objects, the golden stool, which is the soul of the nation, is most important. Tradition states that the stool alighted from the sky in a black cloud. Even the king never sits on this stool, but makes pretence to do so three times before sitting on his own stool

during the ceremonies for invoking royal ancestors (Rattray, 1923, pp. 289-293; E. W. Smith, 1926).

The Ashanti custom of preserving the bones of a dead king so that these might serve as a shrine or a medium through which the ancestral spirit could find expression, will frequently be noted among Bantu as well as Sudanic Negroes. In Ashanti ceremonials, human sacrifice played an important part since kings required service in a spirit world. The reigning king and the victims repaired to the mausoleum where the bones of dead kings were kept, and there the reigning king officiated in an ancestral cult in which fertility rites were prominent.

The feast of the dead was a yam ceremony, which was performed annually at the ripening of the crop and before any of the produce was eaten; the procedure was an offering of the first fruits to dead ancestors. The Ashanti word *odwira* means a cleansing of the nation and a purification of the shrines of ancestral spirits, of gods, and of the less important spiritual powers. Cleansing the stools of past kings by washing and offering yams is part of the rites, and the sanctity of the stools is renewed by pouring over them the blood of sacrificed animals.

At the *odwira* ceremony, each victim for sacrifice had a knife passed through his cheeks to prevent him from cursing the king, and his arms were pinioned from behind. The officiating king poured out wine before each skeleton of a former king. Before each sacrifice a drummer sent out a message of death, and the executioner said, "Off with you to the land of ghosts and serve—," then the name of a dead king was mentioned. This routine was followed before each skeleton. When a reigning king died, the news went forth that a mighty tree had fallen, for the death of a king could not be directly announced. Then followed rites, at the end of which the bones of the king were placed in the mausoleum, where they were preserved to participate in the next cleansing and fertility ceremony. At the death of a king his wives and some of the slaves were strangled, so that their spirits could accompany and serve the ghost of their master.

In the household of the king, a strong system of mother-right prevailed, and does today. A king's son can never be king, and the royal successor is chosen by the Queen Mother, who also selects the principal wife for the new king. The Queen Mother has a silver stool, and at the ceremony for propitiating ghosts of the royal dead she takes a prominent part. The status of women is further indicated

by the training of priestesses whose functions are as important as those of the priests.

In Dahomey, as A. Le Hérissé (1911, pp. 5, 6, 35, 41, 73) points out, the king was supreme ruler, owner of all forms of wealth, arbiter in war and peace, and chief lawgiver, with power of life and death in his hands. He was also the high priest at all important religious fêtes. Each king at death became the principal person venerated by a section of the community composed of all his descendants. As among the Yoruba, the Jukun, and the Ashanti, court officials of high prestige were numerous, and the king's household was ostentatiously conducted. At the death of a king, his wives and many slaves were put to death, so that their souls might accompany that of their master, and elaborate mourning rites were observed throughout the kingdom. Women of royal rank were given a high standing in the king's household, and the twin sister of Akaba (1680-1708) was a joint ruler with restricted authority.

In 1871 J. A. Skertchly (1874, pp. 178-286) witnessed at the court of Gelelé ritual connected with ancestor worship, fertility cults, and human sacrifice. The ceremonials recorded were repeated each autumn, and they were of the kind performed at the installation of a new king, yet not so elaborate.

Skertchly describes the feasting, buffoonery, and military parades that accompanied the So-sin festivals. He pictures the twelve victims for sacrifice dressed in white shirts with scarlet trimmings and having a blood-red heart on the right shoulder. The victims were tied hand and foot, but they were cared for by an attendant who fed them and fanned off the flies.

"Contrary to what some good people in England would have us believe, the *morituri* were in the best of spirits. Those ungagged were laughing and talking with each other, while their muzzled brethren were taking matters just as apathetically, swaying their heads from side to side in time to the music of the bands."

Skertchly touches the main function of these So-sin customs when he describes a small hut erected for reception of the ghost of the dead King Gézu. The roof of this dwelling was decorated with striped cloth and cowrie shells, and inside was a gift of tobacco and liquor. This hut, like the stools used at similar rites in Ashanti, was a shrine for temporary residence of the spirit who was to be supplicated. The king of the Dahomeans took charge of all the ritual and so acted as intermediary between the living and the dead.



Kingship among the Yoruba of Nigeria is of the Ashanti and Dahomean type (S. Johnson, 1921, pp. 48-57). The king is the head of social organization, government, and religion. His person is sacred and he is not allowed in the streets by day; tradition states that a king acquired his prestige by eating the heart of his predecessor. During life the king is surrounded by a retinue of officers both male and female. The chief of these are military leaders, a diviner who consults oracles, keepers of genealogies and historical records, eunuchs who guard the king's wives, and custodians of such ceremonial objects as state umbrellas, drums, and ivory trumpets.

Certain women of the king's palace held exceptionally important positions; for example, the Iyamode resided in special quarters where she worshiped the spirits of former kings, and to her the king himself knelt in salute. A priestess of high rank consulted oracles at the tomb of a dead king, and when possessed by the spirit of the dead monarch she came raving to the royal palace to foretell the future and to state what kind of sacrifice was required by the dead king.

A king who was about to take office visited the mausoleum of his predecessors and asked their spirits for permission to reign, a request which was accompanied by sacrifice and other ritual. At the death of a king, slaves were sacrificed to serve in the spirit world, and a number of persons of high rank volunteered for the honor of being executed at the tomb of the king. During the life of a king of the Yoruba, men were appointed under a title meaning "to die with the king," and such persons, who were greatly honored during their lives, were distinguished by a gift of "death cloth," which was a silk wrapper. These guards of the king protected him against poison and assassination, and they were likely to be faithful since they had to commit suicide at the death of the king.

A king of the Yoruba who was unsuccessful in a war that he himself had provoked was expected to take his own life. A king of Dahomey who had outlived his usefulness received a gift of parrots' eggs as an intimation that he must commit suicide. Among the Baganda of Uganda, and in some Nilotic Negro tribes, self-sacrifice by suicide on account of age or inefficiency is one of the traits linked with an exalted kingship. When a king of the Yoruba ascended the throne, his mother was "asked to go to sleep," and after her suicide an "official mother" was appointed.

Some of these features of Yoruba kingship persist today, but the more crude customs were abolished in the year 1858. In the

kingdom of Benin, Southern Nigeria, customs of human sacrifice persisted until 1897. The sacrificial rites were performed at an altar in the king's compound. This structure remains today, but without so many decorative ivory tusks. Heads of bronze are retained, but these are not comparable in workmanship to the older examples. I noticed that the objects on the altar were sprinkled with blood, and was informed that goats and chickens are frequently sacrificed there in place of human victims.

In eastern Nigeria, among the Jukun, the same types of behavior and belief are associated with kingship. The Aku of Wukari is a supreme incarnation of divine power and as such receives great reverence. He must eat in private, and so great is the spiritual power within him that every object he touches becomes impregnated with divine force. In connection with law, we noted that sacred oaths are sworn on objects belonging to the king. The king is believed to control wind and rain; therefore, his primary function is to secure good harvests. Formerly the king was put to death when his physical strength began to decline, for on the vitality of the king depended fertility of the soil and fecundity of human and animal life (Meek, 1931, p. 123).

Formerly a Jukun king was a manifestation of the sun's power, and reverence for the sun is still a feature of spiritual beliefs in the Benue region of eastern Nigeria. Expressions equating the king with the moon still exist, for the ruler is sometimes called "he of the moon" or "the full moon." The phrase, "The full moon lighted the palace," means that the king gave an audience. C. K. Meek (1931b, vol. 2, pp. 490-549) states that tribes near the Jukun practice rites of moon worship, and these are closely associated with the person of a chief. A libation to the moon is poured over a monolith by a priest who prays that wives may be prolific and the crops bountiful. In the Jukun religion, kingship is associated with celestial bodies, divine power, and fertility. In connection with worship of the sun, a Jukun priest prays at a shrine, saying, "In coming to you, O Sun, at this season we are following the custom of our forefathers. Grant that all may be blessed with an abundant harvest, with health and offspring, with success in hunting and trade."

#### NILOTIC NEGRO KINGS

Among the Dinka, Shilluk, and some other Nilotic Negroes, religion is founded on ideas of God, the sacredness of kings and rain-makers, and reverence for all ancestral spirits. Deism, kingship, and ancestor worship were shown to be indispensable traits

of spiritual life among several tribes of Sudanic Negroes, despite the fact that their general culture differs radically from that of Nilotic Negroes. For the former, agriculture is of primary importance, and religious rites are concerned with productivity of the soil, but the social and economic life of the latter is based on the keeping of cattle.

In the religious beliefs and practices of Negros, important differences occur, though the controlling principles are analogous. Human sacrifice and ceremonial cannibalism are not traits of the Nilotic region, and in this area the use of carved wooden figures is relatively unimportant. In Ashanti, Dahomey, and Nigeria, art and religion have combined to produce an elaborate expression of spiritual ideas through the media of wood, bronze, and ivory. Wood-carving, and especially the fabrication of human effigies that serve temporarily as shrines for the reception of ancestral spirits, are characteristic of the Bantu area. Nilotic Negroes are at a disadvantage with regard to raw materials for the development of esthetic art in connection with their religion.

The Dinka revere Dengit (Great Rain), and the Nile Dinka state that Dengit once ruled their tribe in human form; this is the same belief as that of the Shilluk, who assert that their god Nyakang was once a king. The Dinka begin their supplications with the phrase, "God and our ancestors," a phrase that correctly indicates the two main elements of their religion. Rain-making ceremonies take place at the shrines of Dengit, and a harvest rite following the cutting of durra is observed there. At this shrine of Dengit, the Agar Dinka install their new rain-makers. The deism of the Dinka is very similar to that of the Shilluk, who believe in a supreme being Jwok. The Dinka reverence Jwok but he is of less practical importance than Dengit, and likewise with the Shilluk, Nyakang is of more functional importance than the supreme being.

Rain-makers of the Shilluk and the Dinka were the king and the tribal chief, respectively, and in both tribes these rulers were slain if their health and virility failed. The Dinka rain-makers were regarded as sacred because each of them was controlled by an ancestral spirit that had come to him from several generations ago. An aged rain-maker who felt that his powers were failing made his own funeral arrangements. Among the Agar Dinka, a wide grave was prepared, and in this the aged rain-maker lay on a bed surrounded by his friends and relatives. The rain-maker reviewed the past and gave advice for the future; then, after a day or two of

abstention from food and water, he told the watchers to cover him with earth, and the grave was filled in.

Capit, a recent king of the Shilluk, traces his genealogy back to Nyakang through a line of twenty-eight kings. At the installation of a Shilluk king, a statue of Nyakang is placed on the stool and is then taken away. After sitting on this stool for a time the king retires, and in solitude he communes with Nyakang and his other ancestors during a period of ten days. During this period, the spirit of Nyakang enters the new king and so gives the spiritual power that a king must possess in order to maintain the prosperity of his people. (C. G. Seligman, 1912; C. G. and B. Z. Seligman, 1932, pp. 74-87).

#### BANTU NEGRO KINGS

The Baganda, a Bantu-speaking pastoral tribe of Uganda, have beliefs and practices closely resembling those of Sudanic and Nilotic Negroes. The associated ideas are those of divine power, the sacredness of the king, the worship of ancestral spirits of the royal dead, and the dependence of national prosperity on all these factors. Baganda customs, especially those associated with rain-making, resemble those of the Nilotes, but in the elaboration of ritual, including human sacrifice on a large scale, the Baganda procedure more closely resembles that of the Sudanic Negroes.

Canon J. Roscoe reports that the Baganda based their worship on the idea that agricultural and pastoral prosperity depended on the vitality of the king, who was never permitted to reign after he became old and feeble. If a king felt that his physical powers were waning, it was his duty to commit suicide, and in some instances a king took his own life while in his prime. This ceremonial sacrifice transferred the king to a world of spirits where he continued to live in affluence as owner of the herd of cattle that was killed at his grave. The spirits of men slain at the funeral of the king became his spiritual retinue. During the king's life, men were killed in order to give longer and more efficient life to the ruler. The Baganda had thirteen sacrificial places, each with its own temple and priesthood. The gods were intimately associated with these temples, and at the shrines contained therein oracles were read by the priests, who were told by the ghosts of kings what sacrifices were required. The decorated jawbone of a king was preserved, and, as in Ashanti, the most important rites of ancestor worship were performed in the presence of the king's bones (J. Roscoe, 1911, p. 107).

The idea of kingship as closely associated with divine power prevailed among sections of the Bushongo, who are southwestern Bantu. The king had an elaborate court organization including ministers, trade guilds, and medicine-men. Each king was a re-incarnation of the spirit of Bumba, the founder of the tribe, and from Bumba the monarch derived his power, for his ancestor Bumba had caused the sun to shine and had sent the rain. C. G. Seligman (1930, p. 209) compares the nature and power of Bushongo kingship with the beliefs and practices of the Shilluk in respect to Nyakang, founder of a lineage of divine kings.

E. Torday (1925, pp. 72, 154-156) states that god the creator is the supreme spirit of the Baluba; but it is to the relics of dead ancestors that homage is paid, and to these sacred remains supplications are addressed. An ancestor is worshiped as founder of the tribe, and his chief priest is the head of it. The human relics which form a sacred shrine consist of human nails and other bodily fragments; these are guarded by the head of the tribe or clan.

The sacredness of kings, the power of their departed spirits, and the rites of ancestor worship are constant factors in Negro religion, yet beliefs differ in their intensity and in the elaboration of their attendant ritual. For the Ovimbundu (southwestern Bantu), kingship did not imply great elaboration of court life and ritual, yet the simple rites were of the same kind as those already mentioned. At the death of a king, slaves were beheaded and eaten. A king's head wrapped in oxhide became a sacred relic which was consulted on such important occasions as warfare, drought, or a long caravan journey. At intervals the head was provided with a new covering, and at this time an ox was sacrificed.

G. P. Lestrade (Editor Duggan-Cronin, 1929, vol. 1, section I, p. 17) points out that "Venda life revolves round the chief. He is the absolute lord and master of his people in a way which all iconoclastic influence of white contact and white government has done little to diminish. Indeed, at a certain age he becomes a god, when after abjuring all contact with women, and ridding himself of his wives, he performs the dance which confers godhead upon him."

#### SUMMARY

The ideas involved in the sacredness of kingship are of a kind that might develop independently, and outside Africa such concepts are widely spread, as Sir J. G. Frazer has pointed out in "The Golden Bough"; but the part played by diffusion as opposed to independent invention remains undetermined. So far as Africa is concerned, the

concepts, together with the ritual that expresses them, may have originated in Egypt. The sacredness of kingship has been broadly dealt with by A. M. Hocart (1936).

The king of Egypt was the son of Horus the Great, whose attributes were later taken by Ra, the Sun god. The king, who was believed to be a god, was worshiped as such, and his statue was placed among those of the gods. Statues of Ra were endowed with the "fluid of life," which they transmitted to the king by contact. Each day the king performed a sacred exercise to renew his power; therefore he received the title "Endowed with Life, like Ra, for ever."

The deistic ideas associated with kingship, and the elaborate rites connected with royal ancestors, some of whom are deified, should be regarded as a constant aspect of Negro religion, varying in intensity of development, but in no way isolated from other phases of ancestor worship. All ancestors, even those of the most lowly commoners, are sacred, though remoteness in time and the lack of organized ritual may cause a decline in the ancestral power. Yet each Negro family has gods of the hearth who are intimately concerned with health and fecundity. No matter of family concern, be it so trivial as the sickness of a domestic animal, is beneath the notice of the ancestors.

The family ghosts can be benevolent or vindictive. They must be placated by sacrifice at the hands of a medicine-man or the head of the family. This intimacy between the sacred and the profane worlds can be shown as the essence of Bantu religion, and despite the special developments that we have recognized with regard to deism and ritual, the daily contact with proximate and lowly ancestral spirits is fundamental in all Negro religion.

#### SURVIVAL AFTER DEATH, AND ANCESTOR WORSHIP

##### BANTU

Beliefs of the Ovimbundu with regard to survival after physical death, and practices for securing the assistance of ancestral spirits, are typical of those prevailing among all Bantu Negroes. The words *ekisi* and *ocilulu* mean a disembodied spirit, but the word generally used for soul or spirit is *utima*, the heart. So far as could be ascertained these words are synonymous, and they do not refer to separate spiritual counterparts of the physical body. Yet it is certain that some Bantu and Sudanic Negroes believe in the existence of separate souls which dwell in one person, and at death the multiple souls have different fates. Such souls, though distinct, form a unity.

Ovimbundu spirits of the dead are in two divisions: the *olosande*, who are good and benevolent, and the *olondele*, who are malevolent. In this class are included the spirits of suicides and of those who were wicked or discontented on earth. All spirits are feared, especially those of the *olondele* group, and to approach the *olosande* the services of a medicine-man are usually required.

Spirits move by night, and whistling should be avoided, since the sound calls ghosts. Evil spirits who are afflicting a child can be deceived by changing the name of the sufferer. The rites of exorcism, of divination with a basket of trinkets, and the consultation of wooden figurines are described in connection with the medicine-man. In the chapter on "Economic Life," data are given to illustrate the way in which the hunter and the blacksmith depend on ritual which is associated with the activity of spirits.

The helpful nature of the *olosande* is indicated by the words of a sick person, who, failing to recover, says, "I have no more *osande*." Esuvi is a bird that flies by night, and it is believed to have the power of killing spirits, who die a second death, after which they can no longer be helpful to the living. A man who failed to recover his health after treatment by a medicine-man said, "The spirit of my grandfather has been caught by esuvi," meaning that a protecting influence had been withdrawn from the living relative.

Funeral rites of the Ovimbundu indicates a belief that the spirit remains near the dead body for several days. On the third day after death the coffin is fastened to a pole which is supported on the shoulders of two men (Fig. 82, *a*). An old man questioned the corpse, saying, "Today, my boy, we want you to make us glad; tell us all that takes you from earth." While asking this question, the interrogator held out food on a platter, and the mourners watched for a movement of the pole on the shoulders of the bearers.

In reply to the question "Were you poisoned?" the spectators declared that the coffin-pole swung backward, so indicating a negative. A prolonged interrogation resulted at last in a positive answer to the query, "Did you die from pains in the belly?" One of the questions asked has an important bearing on all Bantu procedure connected with death. The interrogator demanded, "Is it witchcraft that hates us and killed you? If it is witchcraft, come to the front." An affirmative answer would, before European control, have led to a process of divining to find the worker of anti-social magic. Such a person, named *onganga*, would have been compelled to take the poison ordeal.

Preparation of the body suggests a fear of a wandering ghost, for the great toes are tied together and the upper arms are bound to the torso with bark thongs. The mourning rites observed by a widow further imply a fear of a ghost which has to be placated. A widow must leave her hair loose and without ornament, and she is covered from crown to sole in cloth. For three days she has to sleep close to the corpse of her husband, with only a thin stick between them. During this time she has to abstain from food, and her wailing is almost continuous. After the corpse has been prepared for the rite of questioning, as described above, the widow bids farewell to the dead. Relatives hold the corpse upright and carry it toward her while she is held by other relatives. At the end of a year of mourning, and after a ceremonial feast and drinking of beer, the widow is free to remarry. These proceedings of the Ovimbundu have their parallels, or even their exact facsimiles, in many Negro tribes, both Bantu and Sudanic.

E. Torday (1928c, pp. 225-245) states that among several tribes of the southwest Bantu each person is believed to have two souls, a spiritual soul, *moyo*, and a sensory soul called *mfumu kutu*. The functions of the spiritual soul are to think and to will, while the sensory soul perceives through the senses. The sensory soul leaves the body during sleep and fainting, but the spiritual soul adheres more closely to the body, since it is distributed through the blood, though more of this soul exists in the heart and liver than elsewhere. The fact that the spiritual soul is believed to be distributed in the blood accounts for the importance of blood in religious and magical ceremonies, including the making of charms in which blood is an ingredient. The process of drying a corpse over a slow fire is carried out to liberate the soul from the blood so that the spirit can join the ancestral ghosts.

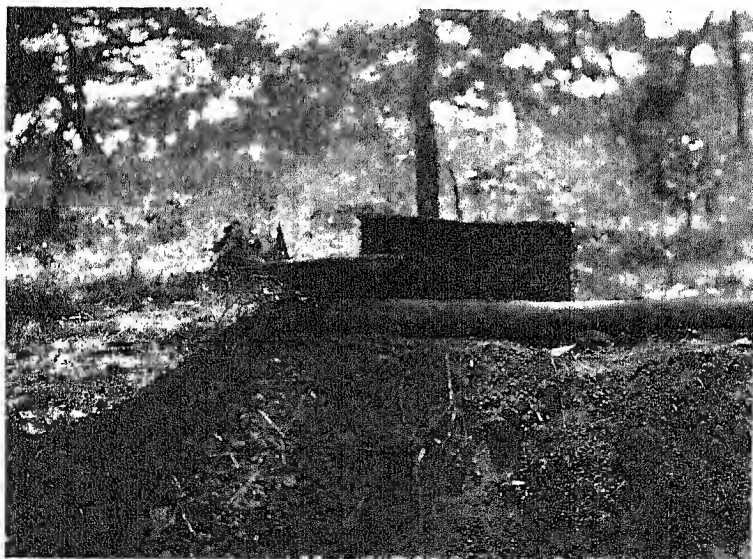
In most Bantu languages, the words for "embodied soul" and "disembodied soul" are distinct, according to W. C. Willoughby (1928a, pp. 338-347). Bantu Negroes think of the soul as an entity that can leave the body during sleep, and the idea of a soul entering temporarily into an animal is widely distributed among Negroes. R. S. Rattray (1927a, p. 93) mentions "dream adultery" whereby a sleeper, on waking, is held responsible for the actions of his errant soul, if he is foolish enough to narrate his dreams.

Willoughby thinks that the Bantu generally believe that a soul enters the fetus at the time of quickening, and he describes a Bantu belief that the spirit of a dead child haunts the place where the infant





*a*



*b*

FIG. 82. Funeral rites. *a*. Bearers of a corpse, Ovimbundu, Elende. *b*. Grave near Caconda, Ovimbundu tribe.

body was buried. Women passing such places are likely to become pregnant. Beliefs in reincarnation, and the practice of divination to discover which ancestral spirit is within the newly-born child are of wide distribution. Usually commoners sacrifice only to their immediate ancestors, but the souls of chiefs receive sacrifices and petitions for centuries after their death.

Despite a general and well-established belief in the continued existence of souls, there exists a ritual for destroying them. Instances of destroying the soul are found in connection with executions, warfare, and head-hunting. A draft of poison before execution, burning a corpse, or eating the body are methods of destroying a soul whose vindictiveness is feared.

Other general beliefs mentioned in Willoughby's study of Bantu concepts of the soul are the presence of the spirit near the corpse for several days after death, the retributive conduct of neglected ancestors, and the preservation of social status in a world of spirits; a chief remains as such, while slaves continue their servitude.

The direct manner in which Negroes address ancestral spirits is shown by R. P. J. van Wing (1930, pp. 401-428). "In their magical formulae and in their prayers, one can discover, not so much individual and passing sentiments, as the soul of the whole people." There is a process of direct bargaining with the ancestors when supplication is made for curing the sick. "The ancestors are informed that they will receive the honours they claim on condition that they restore the health of the patient and the prosperity of the clan." The burden of most supplications is desire for fecundity, good crops, relief from sickness, and aid in combating witchcraft.

The observations of A. T. Bryant (1917, No. 95) indicate that according to Zulu philosophy man is composed of two parts, the body and the spirit or soul. In addition to these, the concept of a human being includes an entity whose name can be translated by the words heart, feelings, or mind. There is also something meaning intellect, memory, and understanding. A final part or aspect is the shadow or personality. The relationship of these things to each other and their fate at death does not seem clear in Zulu philosophy, though general beliefs and practices favor the hypothesis that all these aspects of a human being accompany the departing life.

"The Zulu religion makes no definite statement on the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. The soul survives death, and is offered sacrifice practically continuously throughout an indefinite period of time; but how long it will continue to live, and whether

or not it will endure for ever, is not defined." The spirit materializes into a snake of a non-poisonous kind which can be recognized by bright green color with black marks. The kind of snake and the size are clues to the status of the visiting ancestor. Old women prefer to take the form of small lizards.

"The only spirits that now really matter, that actually enter into the practical religion of the present-day Zulu, are the spirits of his father, his grandfather, and his other immediate ancestors. These he feels he knows, and they alone, he assumes, have any present interest in him." Any neglect of sacrifices will be visited with reprisals, such as infliction of barrenness on wives and sickness on children. The diviners act as intermediaries between the living and the dead by use of various techniques that Bryant describes in detail.

Ideas of the Zulu correspond closely with those recorded for the Bakongo and other Bantu tribes. "The Zulu sacrifices and prays to the spirits only when he wants something," and the bargaining process is shown in the address to the ancestors. The words, which are spoken as soon as the sacrificial ox has been speared, are: "Take ye and eat, that thereby this child of ours (who is sick and whom you are taking from us) may be restored to health and to us." If the matter is of national rather than family concern, the king sacrifices to the Greatest-great-ones, his own direct ancestors.

An eastern Bantu tribe, the Wanyamwezi, make the usual distinctions of rank among ancestral spirits. The most important ancestors are those of kings and medicine-men, and in view of the national importance of these spirits appeal is made to them by the king, on recommendation of the medicine-man *mfumu*, during times of drought and disease. Family ancestors are grouped in two categories, as with the Bathonga. Ancestors in the paternal line are *ku buta*, and in the maternal line, *ku migongo*. Sacrificial rites to ancestors are typically a family concern, and the presiding priests are a grandfather, a father, or the oldest son of the family. There are, however, special instances in which a *mfumu* officiates. The spiritual relationship of a family to the ancestors is that of supplicants who do homage and make gifts in return for concessions (F. Bösch, 1925, pp. 200-209; 1930, pp. 105-167).

#### WESTERN (SUDANIC) NEGROES

Beliefs and practices relating to ancestor worship, and the functional aspects of religion are similar among Sudanic and Bantu Negroes. R. S. Rattray (1927a, pp. 153-156) emphasizes the practical

importance of lesser gods and ancestral spirits in the daily life of the Ashanti, though S. Clarke (1930, pp. 431-470) thinks that the sociological significance of ancestor worship has not been sufficiently stressed by Rattray. Yet, despite Clarke's criticism, the observations of Rattray are quite clear on many fundamental and practical aspects of Ashanti religion.

The Ashanti believe in a plurality of non-corporal elements, each of which has a distinguishing name. The *kra* is a spiritual part of a human being, and during the life of a person to which it is attached the *kra* leads a separate, shadowy existence. When a person is dying, his *kra* leaves him gradually, and the difficult breathing of the dying person is said to be due to the exertions of the *kra* in climbing a hill in the spirit world. The *kra* is thought to have been in existence before the birth of the person to whom it became attached; it is a spirit waiting for reincarnation. The Ashanti have other words to describe spiritual parts that do not perish with the body. *Saman* is a ghost; *samanfo* means an ancestral spirit. A *sasa* is a spirit of either a human being or an animal which can disturb the living by casting a spell that only magic can avert. Hunters, butchers, and executioners are likely to be haunted by a *sasa* if precautions are not taken. A *sunsum* is the part of a person that wanders when he is asleep. The *ntoro* and its sociological functions have been explained. The *obosum* is the spirit of a *ntoro* totemic division.

In common with all Negroes, the Ashanti believe in the vindictiveness of ghosts, which may cause barrenness of women, sexual impotence of men, sickness, and misfortune. Widows mourn to satisfy the ghosts of dead husbands, and the belief prevails that a widow who has sexual intercourse within the year following the death of her husband will be barren or die. The new husband of a widow has to make a propitiatory offering to the ghost of the former husband. This is the fearful and negative side of respect for ancestors; the positive rites, both family and national, are of the usual type in which offerings are made and favors are asked.

The wandering of a soul, its objective nature, and the dependence of bodily welfare on the actions of a soul, are exemplified by L. W. G. Malcolm (1922, pp. 219-222). The Efik of southeast Nigeria call the bush soul *ukpon*, and if an animal that is holding the *ukpon* falls sick or dies the owner of that soul suffers. At Old Calabar, a man begged for the release of a trapped leopard on the ground that the animal held his bush soul. A man who wishes to injure

an enemy pays a visit to a medicine-man to discover what animal holds the *ukpon* of his foe. Injury can be inflicted by trapping or killing this creature, but if the plot is discovered a trial by ordeal will result and the punishment will be severe, since this is anti-social magic.

The functional aspects of ancestor worship, and the intimacy of religious exercises with everyday life of the Dahomeans, indicate that the principles and practices of ancestor worship for these Sudanic Negroes are the same as those of the Bantu, but religion of Sudanic Negroes is elaborated in all its aspects. Family religion among many Bantu tribes is exemplified by the simple rites followed by the Ovimbundu. The chief cult object of the home is a wooden figurine whose hollow abdomen is filled with medicine by the *ocimbanda*. Then follows a consultation between the *ocimbanda* and the figurine, which is a temporary shrine for an ancestral spirit.

In Ashanti and Dahomey, the family arrangements are more elaborate. M. J. and F. S. Herskovits (1933, pp. 69-74) describe the walled compound of an extended family with its shrine to Legba and a small square house for worshipping individual ancestral spirits. Inside the house of the first wife is an altar to Minoia, the goddess of women, and another altar for Hweli, protector of the household. Herskovits describes the promises of a man to his Vodou, the non-fulfilment of the obligation, the divination to find what Vodou is incensed and why, also the placation of the Vodou. The differences between Bantu and Sudanic religious practices are chiefly of degree and not of kind.

#### NILOTIC NEGROES

Dr. C. G. Seligman states that among Nilotic Negroes, especially the Shilluk, the ancestral cult is overshadowed by that of Nyakang. Yet there exists more feeling for and fear of dead ancestors than a cursory investigation would suggest. Often there is difficulty in showing the observance of sacrifice to ancestors, apart from that which is associated with the cult of *royal* ancestors.

But the data given by C. G. Seligman (1931, pp. 1-20) prove conclusively that ancestor worship of the kind observed among Bantu and Sudanic Negroes is characteristic of some Nilotes. The Dinka believe that each human being has a soul or spirit, *atiep* (shadow), which at death remains about the house or becomes associated with the shrine, *buor*, which is prepared for it. The *atiep* may appear to the living in a dream to ask for food; then the dreamer

in order to escape sickness or other reprisal from an offended spirit, mixes durra with fat and places this in a pot in a corner of the hut.

The word *jok* is reserved for powerful ancestors who died long ago; some of these *jok* are the spirits of founders of clans. The spirit of an animal ancestor is a powerful *jok*. The *jok*, like the *atiep*, are guardian spirits of house and clan; both are vindictive if annoyed or neglected. Men and women who can see the *atiep* and *jok* are called *tiet*. These gifted persons communicate with the ancestral spirits to discover what spirit has been offended, what has caused displeasure, and what sacrifice should be made in placation. A close connection exists between the cult of the dead and the totemic belief concerning reincarnation of an ancestor in some animal which becomes emblematic for the clan. This totemism is a special development of religious belief among the Nilotes; similar beliefs exist among some Bantu and Sudanic Negroes, but not usually with the same emphasis as among the Nilotes.

P. W. Hofmayr (1911, pp. 120-131) agrees that in general the ancestral cult of the Shilluk is restricted to worship of the spirits of higher chiefs and kings. But each house has its own ancestral spirits who are interested in the family. Graves of immediate family ancestors are revered, and the following procedure shows a close similarity between family rites of the Nilotes, and those practices which are characteristic of Bantu and Sudanic worship of immediate and lowly ancestors. For the Shilluk, states Hofmayr: "A father who intends to dispose of his daughter in marriage goes to the grave of a family ancestor and prays, 'Lord! here I bring my child; bless her! thou knowest whether her way will be straight or unlucky. I offer a little sheep whose blood will penetrate to thee through the earth and speak for me and my child.'"

#### ANCESTORS AND CANNIBALISM

In addition to the kingly office, the employment of medicine-men, and the use of shrines, prayer, and sacrifice as means of establishing contact with ancestors, cannibal rites are of local importance. E. Torday (1913, p. 83) has pointed out that the Banyanzi were not ashamed of cannibalism and expressed a preference for human flesh; but, generally speaking, cannibalism has a ritual aspect, which has previously been mentioned in relation to warfare and head-hunting.

J. Roscoe (1924, pp. 40, 140, 147) believes that cannibalism among the Bagesu and other northern Bantu is a ceremonial feast

in honor of the dead. Only certain clan members eat the flesh, and only selected parts of the corpse are cooked. The evidence adduced when describing secret societies showed the ritual importance of cannibal rites, and it is a general truth that medicine-men regard portions of the human body as potent ingredients. Medicine-men disinter bones of the dead, and the remains of medicine-men are regarded as specially efficacious. This is distinctly a form of ceremonial cannibalism. The whole of the evidence for cannibalism in the plateau belt of central Nigeria emphasizes the ritual importance of the institution. The alleged reasons for cannibalism among the Angas appear to be contradictory. On the one hand, the soul of an *enemy* is destroyed by eating his flesh, but, on the contrary, the soul of a *relative* can be sent to the spirit world if he is killed and the flesh is eaten ceremonially. Cannibalism can function as a special form of sacrifice for maintaining connection with ancestral ghosts, for among the Angas, although flesh from the head of a relative is eaten, the skull is preserved in a pot which becomes a shrine or altar for family ancestor worship (Meek, 1925, vol. 2, pp. 48, 53-58).

#### CONCLUSION

Consideration of ancestor worship and of survival after death establishes uniformity of fundamental beliefs and procedures among all Negroes. The departed spirits of kings, chiefs, and important rain-makers are of tribal concern; they are venerated for long periods with elaboration of ceremonial at which a reigning king or chief acts as high priest to gain ancestral blessings. But likewise important, though generally restricted to the family or the clan, are the ancestral spirits of people of low social status. Between the spiritual and the profane worlds these spirits come and go at will. By sacrifice they are cajoled; they are human in their wants and jealousies; but by the use of correct ritual their aid in all matters of family concern can be solicited. That supplicants of these immediate ancestors are chiefly concerned with obtaining material benefits is beyond dispute; but what are the controlling relationships between deism, ancestor worship, and human conduct?

#### RELIGION AND CONDUCT

Ancestor cults are the core of Negro religion, but are the ancestral spirits concerned with morality? Do the ancestors care about theft, hospitality, and fair dealing between men? Are the ghosts concerned about adultery, breach of kinship rules, and homicide?

In connection with a study of law, evidence was adduced to prove that, after legal obligations had been discharged with respect to theft, murder, or adultery, some rite was necessary to emphasize a settlement among litigants, and with the ancestral spirits as well. But despite such instances the impression is left that a murderer is primarily concerned with appeasing the ghost of his victim, and with the payment of compensation to relatives of the murdered man.

But instances showing definite influence of ancestral commands on conduct are not lacking. L. W. G. Malcolm (1925, No. 69) states that among the Efik the marriage ceremony is closely connected with the ghost cult of the tribe. A bride must promise on oath that she will be faithful to her husband, and violation of the oath is believed to cause sterility. According to R. M. Downes (1933, p. 71) the sanctions and taboos which make up the customary law of the Tiv are imposed on society by ancestors. Everything is said by the old men to have been given by the "men of old," and this custom has a spiritual sanction. I. Q. Orchardson (1932-33, pp. 154-162) reports that the Kipsigis believe that anti-social behavior of all kinds is an offense to the ancestors, who retaliate by causing sickness. He does not believe that the phrase "appeasing the ancestors" is a correct description of the attitude of the Bantu toward ancestral spirits. Yet, despite Orchardson's opinion of Kipsigi rites, the body of evidence shows the Negroes' ancestral cults as a chaffering and bargaining; there are promises, procrastinations, fears, divinations to discover the extent of ancestral displeasure, and final compliance is made to avert ancestral reprisals.

In discussing the question of supernatural penalties among the Baganda, L. P. Mair (1934b, pp. 254-256) states that retribution may follow the eating of the totem animal of one's clan, the violation of rules of avoidance between relations-in-law, or indulgence in adultery, especially under certain circumstances. In most of these instances, the person who suffers is not the one who commits the offence; it is the husband who dies because of his wife's misconduct during his absence. The idea behind this concept of punishment is not that a supernatural being has been offended; neither is there belief in an impersonal and mysterious force. The Baganda say, "It is the sin itself which kills."

The eschatology of Negro religion fails to show that the wicked, that is, the anti-social individuals, such as wizards and despotic rulers, are punished in a spirit world. Ghosts of bad persons are feared, since they are thought to do harm to the living, but these



ghosts are not segregated and punished. On the contrary, they continue their evil practices. In a subconscious way, the fear of ancestors may influence all conduct, and the force of ancestral wishes is often clear in relation to incest and prohibited degrees of marriage. But, generally speaking, the ancestors are more concerned with their own dignity, the mourning rites due, and the sacrifices expected, than with the conduct of one man toward another.

#### SACRED ANIMALS

Consideration of the social, religious, and economic life of Negroes reveals many attitudes toward the animal kingdom that are of fundamental importance in tribal life. The special regard for cattle which makes the herds a focus of religious ceremonies, a basis of all social organization, and in some areas the only means of livelihood, has been described in connection with the pastoral culture (section II). This culture provides the most instructive instance of specialization, with domestic animals as the psychological and sociological focus. But beliefs and ceremonies equally important are connected with many feral species.

A comprehensive survey of beliefs, cults, and definite systems of animal worship has been made by J. Weissenborn (1905, pp. 92-165), who describes totemism, cults, and acts of worship, together with miscellaneous beliefs in transformation and transmigration of souls. The main facts of totemism were discussed in connection with organization of the clan and the reincarnation of ancestral spirits, and a distinctive feature of totemism was found in the fact that totemic beliefs are centered about a species, whereas animal worship is the veneration of several individuals of a species that are kept in captivity.

With the exception of totemic beliefs, ideas relating to well-defined systems of worship of the python and the crocodile are the most important instances of reverence for animals. Data relating to the worship of pythons, together with a classification of beliefs and ritual acts pertaining to other kinds of snakes, have been collated and classified in "Serpent Worship in Africa." This publication deals with the historical aspects of the problem of serpent worship, the distribution of different types of belief and ceremonial in Africa, and the psychological and sociological concepts that are involved (Hambly, 1931a).

At Ibadan, Southern Nigeria, a white crocodile is kept in captivity in charge of a priest, and this instance seems to be a late

survival of what was a widely distributed and well-defined cult less than fifty years ago (Fig. 83, b). P. W. Hofmayr (1911, p. 124) mentions that the Shilluk believe that Nikaia, who is the mother of the deified king Nyakang, takes the form of a crocodile, but this disguise she abandons in order to appear as a child. Nikaia is concerned with the welfare of mothers and their children. Offerings of food are made to this crocodile goddess on the bank of a river. G. L. Ponton (1932, pp. 236-240) has described the feeding of a sacred crocodile, which is not in captivity, in the canton of Réo, district of Koudougou, west Africa; but references to cults of crocodiles have not been collated and discussed with regard to their functions, and their historical and psychological relationship to python worship.

The principal centers of python worship were Dahomey, southern Nigeria, and a small area south of Lake Victoria Nyanza. In Dahomey, the python became at times a shrine for the reception of a god, to whom the priests and priestesses had access. In addition to feeding the pythons, the acolytes conducted dances, carried the python in a procession, and made oracular utterances. The python has been commonly associated with fertility of the soil and human fecundity.

Python worship should not be regarded as a trait which is isolated from other aspects of Negro religion. The python is a sacred medium by which contact is made with a spirit world in order to secure benefits; therefore, the worship, with its temples and priesthood, its sacrifices and ceremonies, is functionally a part of ancestor worship.

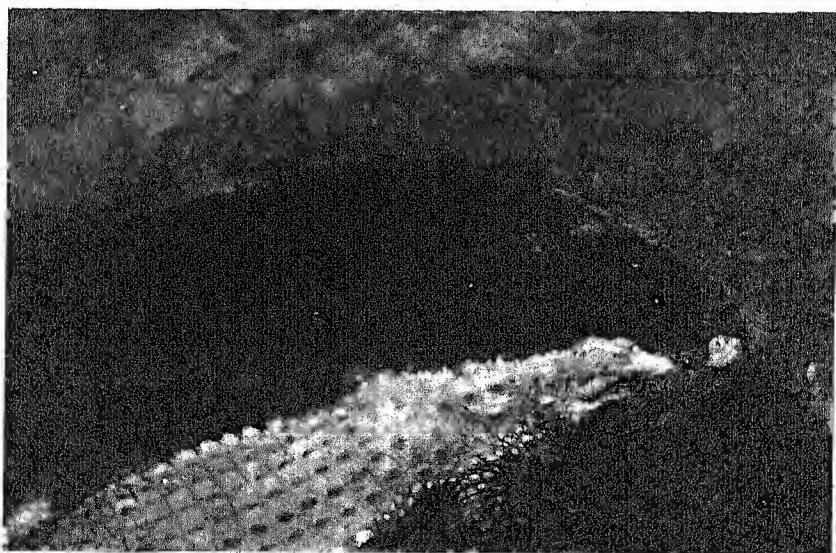
#### DRIBERG'S SUMMARY OF NEGRO RELIGION

The fundamentals of Negro religion have been summarized and discussed by J. H. Driberg (1936), who has valuable criticisms and hypotheses to offer in relation to all aspects of religious belief. Driberg has no hesitation in affirming that the religious belief and philosophy of the African are fixed primarily on the concept of a universal Power or Energy which is the cause of all life, and secondarily on deifications that develop in two distinct ways.

Criticism is levelled against the use of European terms, with their allied European concepts of "high gods," "soul," "prayer," "worship," "sacrifice," and "shrine." The European concept of deity when applied to analysis of Negro religion leads to a misconception of Negro gods as otiose. Yet gods in the stricter sense of European terminology do exist, but only as a rare by-product of the Negro ancestral system. I think, however, that this opinion needs some



a



b

FIG. 83. Sacred reptiles. *a.* Python which has swallowed a goat, eastern Congo. Photograph by E. Heller. *b.* White crocodile, Ibadan, Nigeria.

modification, since our survey of western Negro religion revealed the gods as something far more vital than a mere by-product.

Driberg agrees with most ethnologists in stating that "our sharp distinction between life and death is not a valid one to the African, who sees in death only a change of status. Clans consist of the living and the dead on a complete parity, and the social organization of the living community continues to operate beyond the grave. The elder who dies and is accorded appropriate mortuary ceremonies, which are rites of transition granting him admission to his new status, assumes a status senior to the living elders, but all within the framework of a single organization.

"The theory of soul-inheritance, which is what reincarnation amounts to, together with the possibility of the substitution of a contemporary's soul, is no more than a translation in terms of metaphysics of the classificatory system common to all African societies." When a dead ancestor acquires a tribal character he cannot be reincarnated, because his tribal function has set him apart from the main line of family reincarnation, and after the second generation he remains isolated as a culture hero about whom a mythology aggregates. These observations of Driberg's are in accord with my previous quotations from H. A. Junod, relating to the gradual evolution of tribal gods among the Bathonga.

#### MEDICINE-MEN

Study of Negro religion has presented a picture of parallelism and close contact between worlds of the living and the dead. The conception is utilitarian because the good will of the dead is essential for the welfare of the living. Contacts with the souls of the dead, no matter whether these are kings or lowly ancestors, have to be made through recognized mediators. Heads of families, reigning kings, special priesthoods, shrines, sacred groves, sacrifices, and prayers have been shown as the essentials of ancestor worship. But the office of medicine-man is equally important as a link between realms of the flesh and the spirit.

Ethnological study does not provide satisfactory definitions of magic and religion, and speculation respecting the distinctions between priests and medicine-men, and between prayers and spells, are only tentative attempts to explain the nature of relationship between the physical and the spiritual worlds. D. Westermann (1934, p. 187) explains the way in which magic and religion may be associated among the Ewe and Akan, who can change magic into a

deity. An object used effectively in magical practice may become a deity and the center of a cult whose priest is the man who discovered the magic.

The medicine-man himself is an empiricist who probably has no theories to explain his procedure, but he believes, and so do his clients, that certain ritual will produce desired results, provided no stronger power is exerted against him. European observers are sometimes too eager to supply a rational foundation that does not exist in the mind of the Negro practitioner, and this kind of nimble philosophy may be nowhere near the truth. The thoughts of medicine-men are, however, not always obscure. It is clear, for instance, that an *ocimbanda* of the Ovimbundu, when shaking his divination basket, believes that he is making contact with spirits of the dead, for his declarations plainly state that this or that ghost is the cause of sickness or other trouble. In rain-making, the symbolic acts are evidently used as a sympathetic inducement of actual rainfall; as, for example, when the medicine-man reaches up with his hands, goes through the motion of drawing down rain, and of spreading it on all sides. The use of hair clippings, of human nails, and the driving of iron spikes into a wooden figure to injure an enemy, are all common instances of induced results that are secured by a sympathetic process. Trial by ordeal suggests that some person or power more potent than man is making a decision, yet the identity of the person or power is not known. But to speak of "sympathetic magic" as in rain-making or injuring an enemy, is merely to find a convenient term which gives no explanation of the working of the process.

A point of practical importance, and one that provides data for psychological speculation, is the difference between medicine-men who are respected for their social services, and the anti-social wizards and witches who are sought out and executed. Among the Ovimbundu, the honored practitioner is *ocimbanda*, while the worker of evil magic is *onganga*. In many Negro tribes, a terminological distinction of this kind exists, and often the legitimate medicine-men have as one of their main tasks the discovery, by poison ordeal or otherwise, of anti-social magicians.

In attempting to distinguish between types of magic, E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1928a, pp. 1-53, 1937) shows that views of Negroes respecting permissive and evil magic do not coincide with opinions of Europeans on this subject. The Azande believe that good magic acts in favor of justice and order, while evil magic militates against these conditions. To the Zande, witchcraft is *mangu*, a hereditary

trait that can be discovered in the stomach of a witch. *Mangu*, therefore, is a physiological fact, and a hereditary possession that does not require the use of taboos, spells, rites, and cult objects, all of which are necessary to legitimate magic, called *ngwa*.

The idea that witchcraft results from physiological causes is supported by evidence from several tribes other than the Zande. H. A. Junod (1912, vol. 2, p. 461) states that among the Bathonga witches are known as *baloyi*, or people who have the evil eye. The power to give a baneful glance is hereditary in the female line and it must be sucked from the mother's breast, then stimulated with drugs. The *baloyi* know each other and form a secret society that meets at night to eat human flesh. N. W. Thomas (1916, vol. 1, p. 46) refers to a belief that "a witch is born and not made." A witch mother eats human flesh, and her unborn child absorbs some of the cannibal feast. According to R. S. Rattray (1932a, vol. 1, p. 240), the Nankanse believe that inheritance of witchcraft is in the female line only. When an attempt is made to discover witchcraft by ordeal, the test is applied only to descendants of a witch in the female line. The distinctions between medicine-men and witches (or wizards) have not been fully investigated with regard to natural endowments, training, equipment, and performances, but the data given here suggest a fundamental physical distinction.

In addition to the difficulty of formulating distinctions between workers of altruistic and evil magic, there is uncertainty in classifying ritual and material used. The Zande have a medicine named *gbo* that can be used either legally or anti-socially. A recognized social use of *gbo* occurs when the medicine is employed to enable a man to carry on the blood feud by murdering one of his antagonists. Family honor calls for reprisals, and *gbo* is legitimately used in this connection. On the contrary, a medicine-man sometimes uses *gbo* to assist one of his clients in committing an unprovoked murder; and in such an instance the medicine is illegally employed.

Although the terms priest and medicine-man are indefinable, certain distinctions can be made when examining concrete instances. A father and his two sons (Fig. 84, *a*), who conducted me to a sacred grove at Ifé in Southern Nigeria, might rightly be called priests. These men perform none of the tasks of divination, rain-making, concocting medicines, or making charms. Their office, which is hereditary from father to son, consists of taking charge of a box of terra-cotta heads in a sacred grove. The dress and bronze staffs are distinct from those used in any other office, and these



a



b

FIG. 84. Sacred groves. *a.* Priests of Ifé, Nigeria, in charge of terra-cotta heads. *b.* Terra-cotta heads in sacred grove, Ifé.

men alone know the actions and utterances that are a necessary prelude to opening the sacred box. A king who performs rites in connection with ancestor worship is exercising a priestly function. An attendant whose only function is to guard and replenish the sacred fire in a hut where kings are buried, as at Ngalangi in Angola, is a priest who has none of the duties that are associated with the different classes of medicine-men in that region.

R. S. Rattray (1927a, p. 38) without attempting definitions brings out some distinctions between priests and medicine-men in Ashanti. Priests and priestesses have a training that differs from that of medicine-men, and the two classes draw their power from different spiritual sources. The terms used help to explain the different concepts. *Dunsefo* is a "worker in roots" who specializes in therapeutics and asserts that his skill has been acquired from the fairies or "little folks," who are thought to be speedy messengers of the gods. Wizards, who work anti-social magic, are thought to be in league with the *sasabonsam*, a hairy creature of the woods.

Priests and priestesses adopted their profession because they heard the voice of Tano or fell down in a fit. The initiatory rites, which extend over a period of three years, are designed "to make the god stay with them," and during the initiatory rites the novice receives *suman* or charms to wear. The source of priestly power is shown by the invocation made while offering sacrifices. The priest then says, "Ye gods, ye ghosts, supreme being, spirit of the earth, come and accept this wine. Stand behind me with a good standing, and let me be possessed with a good possession." Yet the same priest learns the art of divining by water-gazing and examining the kidneys of a fowl; therefore, his priestly functions include the duties of some medicine-men.

Preparation for the position of medicine-man or medicine-woman is a simple procedure in many Bantu and other Negro tribes; the formalities connected with this office among the Ovimbundu are an illustrative example. The position of medicine-man is not necessarily hereditary, though this is so in some instances. The general Umbundu name for medicine-man or medicine-woman is *ocimbanda*, but the female practitioner is sometimes called *cambula*. Her services are always required in cases of difficult delivery, and she makes the facial paintings on pregnant women. Any boy or girl who wishes to become *ocimbanda* visits a medicine-man, generally because of some physical or mental disturbance. The *ocimbanda* shakes his divining basket and comes to the conclusion that a spirit,



often that of a relative, wishes his client to become *ocimbanda*. It is said that a boy or girl must have "spirit in the head" in order to become *ocimbanda*. The Ovimbundu do not intensify natural nervousness and a neurotic condition by seclusion, starvation, and harsh treatment, all of which are part of the preparation for office in many other parts of the world (Hambly, 1926a, pp. 256-259). In each village there are usually several men and women, each of whom has the title *ocimbanda*. This is so because of the high degree of specialization in rain-making, divination with the basket, and treatment of the sick with herbs; the Ovimbundu, in common with many Bantu tribes, have an extensive pharmacopoeia.

#### FUNCTIONS OF MEDICINE-MEN

The following activities of medicine-men are typical for Negro tribes, though all of these procedures are not to be found in every tribe.

(1) *Making accouterments*.—These objects, which are designed to make the medicine-man impressive, comprise suits of plaited fiber, masks of many kinds (Fig. 87), feather head-dresses, skins of animals, rattles, drums, whistles, switches of hair with wooden handles, paints for applying to the face and body, and a variety of charms and amulets.

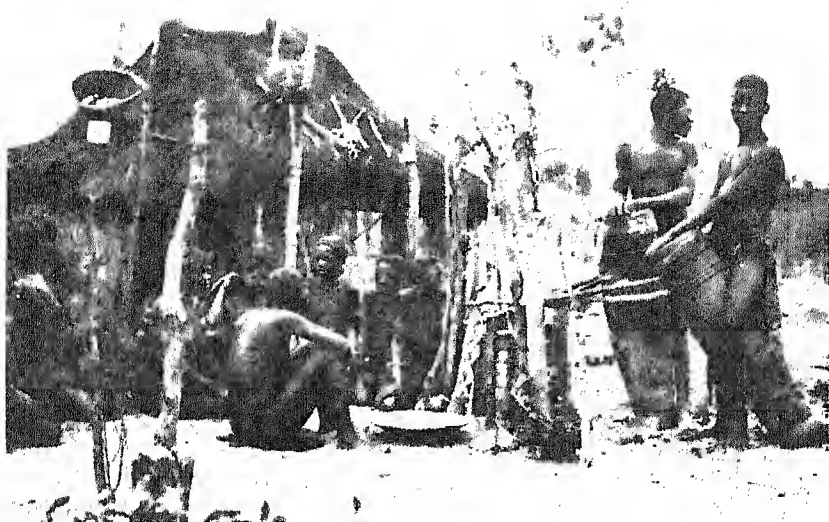
(2) *Divination*.—Four of the main processes are: (a) Shaking the trinkets contained in a gourd or basket and explaining the cause of sickness, or foretelling the future, by inspection of the contents after shaking. (b) Throwing bones (generally the astragalus bones of goats or sheep) and noting how they fall. This method, together with the divinatory use of wooden tablets with marks on them, is specially characteristic of southeast Africa. (c) Rubbing one block of wood with another which has been moistened. As friction continues, names of likely culprits are uttered, and the rubbing-block is said to stick when the name of a guilty person is pronounced. This method is common in the southwest Congo area. (d) Haruspication, that is, the examination of entrails of slaughtered animals for purposes of prognostication. This method, which is commonly used in east Africa, has been described in great detail by D. Arnoux (1917, pp. 1-57), who gives explanatory diagrams.

The method of divination with a basket of trinkets, which is the chief technique of a diviner among the Ovimbundu, is typical of this procedure in other tribes. To the sound of a small friction drum played by his apprentice, the diviner shakes his head from

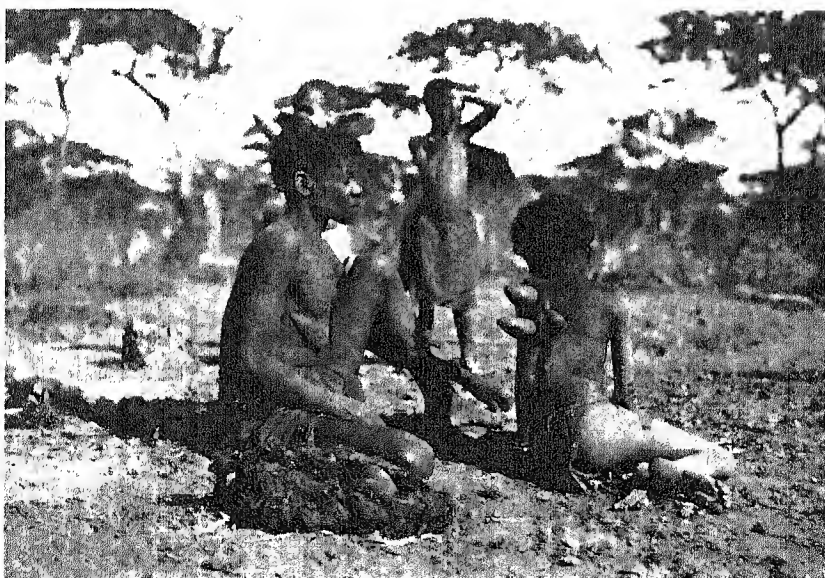
side to side to agitate his head-dress of colored feathers or porcupine quills. Meanwhile he sifts his basket gently to and fro as he concentrates on the changes that take place in the position of objects. Finally he inspects the contents to see what objects have come to the top. A little wooden figure with beads on the neck indicates that the spirit of a dead infant wishes to return. Prominence of two wooden figures carved face to face means that two persons are plotting a murder by poison. A piece of wood twisted like a snake indicates either binding or a painful illness of the consultant. If the medicine-man favors the inference of binding, the assumption is that the client will have some kind of forced labor to do, or he may be accused of a criminal offence. A wooden figure of a female with a large abdomen, when prominent at the top of the basket, indicates that the trouble under investigation arises from the dissatisfied ghost of a woman who died when pregnant.

(3) *Curing the sick*.—The methods are rational in some instances, for example, in treating snake-bite by ligaturing the limb, and opening and sucking the wound. In some regions, a sweat bath is employed. The vegetable drugs used by Negro medicine-men have not been extensively observed or analyzed. Possibly some of them are rationally used and have curative properties. By divination, the conclusion is reached that sickness of a client may be due to possession by a bad spirit, which is then exorcised, in a variety of ways, according to locality. Immunization by inoculation is mentioned by W. Cline (1936, No. 249). E. Scharrer (1936, p. 167) quotes references to show that an electric catfish is sold in the medicine mart of Lagos. Shocks from the fish are used in the cure of rheumatism. The process of cupping is shown in Fig. 85, *b*. In Fig. 85, *a*, the patient is seated ready for ceremonial washing to a drummer's accompaniment.

(4) *Rain-making*.—The ritual attains its highest specialization, and the dignity of the office is greatest among the Shilluk, Dinka, and Bari; the Lango also have a well-developed ritual connected with rain-making. But elaborate ceremonies are not confined to northeast Africa. The Bathonga of southeast Africa, when needing rain, used to send a young man into the sacred wood of the Matjolo clan. There the youth wandered until he died, and the people said that a god had taken him (H. A. Junod, 1912, vol. 2, p. 357). The Bavenda believe in a deity named Raluvhimba, who calls the tribal chief grandchild, and the chief uses the reciprocal term grandfather. The chief has the duty of supervising rites of rain-making. Each



a



b

FIG. 85. Curing the sick. a. Vachokwe tribe, Cangamba, Angola. b. The cupping operation, Vachokwe, near Ngalangi.

year a messenger, whose office is hereditary, is sent with a black ox to the dwelling-place of Raluvhimba in the Matoba Hills. Here the ox is set free to join the god's large herd of oxen, which have accumulated through these annual sacrifices. A voice accepts the sacrifice, and the messenger finds refreshment mysteriously placed under a tree (Stayt, 1931a, p. 231). Numerous tribes have rain-makers, whose performance is a simple symbolic dance carried out with no equipment other than a hair switch and a whistle.

(5) *Making charms*.—After divination, a medicine-man may prescribe the wearing of a charm. Two cowrie shells on a strand of fiber worn about the neck of a woman may give fertility, as among the Ovimbundu. Horns and carapaces of tortoises are used by many tribes as receptacles for suspending round the neck. The concoction within these receptacles has magical virtues, and sometimes a little of the medicine has to be eaten every day. C. K. Meek (1931a, p. 302) mentions a Jukun belief that eating a mixture containing dried portions of the penis of a manatee gives virility. A woman will return to her husband if a parasitic plant is buried under the path she frequents when visiting her lover. A viscous substance worn as a charm causes weapons to glance from the body. These examples are illustrative of thousands of like kind in which certain benefits are secured by a process of sympathetic magic in which symbolism is the agent.

(6) *Charge of ritual*.—Medicine-men perform special rites which are often of social importance, though not elaborate. Among the Ovimbundu, a medicine-man creates new fire by the twirling method when a new village is founded. This fire is distributed from the house of a chief to each home. A medicine-man ceremonially washes the king in water containing a few drops of blood from a sacrificed chicken. This is done in times of epidemic disease. Such rites are typical of many that are performed by medicine-men, with little formality and few regalia.

(7) *Administering ordeals and oaths, and pronouncing curses*.—The duties of medicine-men in conducting trial by ordeal and administering a sacred oath to witnesses were described in connection with law. Pronouncing curses is often associated with the use of wooden figurines into which nails are driven as a symbol of injury to an enemy (Fig. 86). A curse is pronounced as the nail is driven in, and the person against whom this magic has been performed must pay the medicine-man to have the curse removed. In this instance, the medicine-man is acting anti-socially, yet his



FIG. 86. Magical figure studded with nails, Loango Coast, mouth of Congo River.

performances are known and tolerated. This type of figurine has been described and illustrated by J. Maes (1930a, pp. 347-359).

(8) *Making contacts with souls of the dead.*—The simplest way in which this can be done is through use of the divination basket, whose symbolic objects indicate the activity of this or that spirit. The trapping of souls has been described, and this process is understandable if one remembers the tangible and separable nature of a soul which is free to wander. The subject of transformation, as well as that of transmigration, is not well understood, though the claims of some medicine-men are clear. A medicine-man can change himself into an animal (transformation), or he may be able to send his soul, or that of another person, into an animal (transmigration). Divination is sometimes practiced to discover what discontented ancestral spirit is within a troublesome wild animal.

(9) *Consulting with regard to dreams, taboos, and omens.*—An important part of a medicine-man's work is the interpretation of dreams, often by divinatory methods. For curing sickness, avoiding mishap during pregnancy, and guarding against misfortunes of all kinds, taboos are imposed. A client is informed that he can gain protection by observing certain avoidances. Omens of various kinds (and these include some dreams) are interpreted, often by use of a divination basket, throwing the bones, or some other method.

The interpretation of dreams is known as oneiromancy, and the explanation which dreams afford concerning a subconscious mental life is now of importance in modern therapy. Several ethnologists have reported dreams recorded among Negro tribes of Africa, but the available data relate chiefly to dreams and their interpretation by medicine-men, rather than to type dreams and the explanation of their contents. (See section I, chap. VI, Psychology.)

The following interpretations of dreams by medicine-men are illustrative of the ideas which Negroes often associate with their dreams. In Ashanti, with the assistance of an old woman and the aid of the gods (*obosum*), explanations, which are often the opposites of the dream experiences, are given. A man who dreams of gold will be poor, and, in general, dreaming of a desired thing means that the dreamer will never possess it. Dreams of the dead mean that the ancestors seen in the dream require a sacrifice. To dream of fish means conception. A dream involving loss of a tooth implies the death of a friend. Wish fulfillment is sometimes shown by dreaming of the place where game is actually found (Rattray, 1923, pp. 93, 192, 194, 197-200).



FIG. 87. Head-piece of wood covered with skin, to be sewn to a medicine-man's costume, Balessing tribe, Cameroons.

That symbolism plays a part in the interpretation of dreams is clear. Pulling up a mushroom suggests a funeral, since a hole is left in the ground. Dreams of snails also imply a funeral because ghosts are said to feed on snails. Dreaming of an elephant means that a king or a chief will die, since the elephant is a royal symbol. A woman who dreams of her dead husband will be barren, because contact with the dead is thought to cause this condition. The occurrence of type dreams such as those of flying, loss of teeth, and nakedness, which occur among many people other than Negroes, suggests a common human consciousness. There exists a possibility that many parallels in myth and fable have arisen independently among widely separated tribes, and among different races, as a result of dreams.

G. Beresford-Stooke (1928, No. 128) relates that the Akamba connect their dreams with ancestral spirits. Dreaming of the death of a relative or the burning of a house requires a ceremony the next morning. The dreamer drops a smoldering ember in water and prays to the ancestral spirits, asking them not to let the dream come true. A good dream likewise calls for ritual and prayer asking the ancestors that the dream may be fulfilled. A man who has dreamed that he has many cattle spills water slowly on the ground while invoking his dead ancestors thus, "Drink this milk and water, and send me the good things you showed me last night." Should the dream relate to pregnancy of a wife, the dreamer asks his ancestors that the child may be a son. In this instance, the relationship of dreams to ancestor worship is of exceptional importance. C. M. Doke (1931c, pp. 217-222) has recorded many dreams of the Lambas, with explanations current in the tribe.

Taboos observed by the Ovimbundu will serve to illustrate the types of prohibitions observed among Negro tribes in general. The procedure assumes that a certain condition reproduces itself or some similar state by contact or contiguity. Eating the flesh of a hare will give the fetus a split lip, and a pregnant woman who eats flesh of an owl will give birth to a child with abnormally round eyes. Yet some prohibitions do not appear to have an explanation. A medicine-man must refrain from dogs' flesh, and a king may not eat the flesh of any animal that has paws. In general, taboos are a protective mechanism of a spiritual kind, and, as R. R. Marett points out, there is a positive and a negative side to magic. Achievement of a purpose may be due to positive rites accurately performed, or to negative rites, which are taboos or compulsory avoidances.



There are omens, like taboos, which are explicable on the ground of contagious effects. Thus, an Ocimbundu who is proceeding to trial thinks himself unlucky if he meets someone carrying a bark rope, for this indicates that he may be tied. The sight of a snake holding a frog is unfortunate, and one who sees this should consult a medicine-man. The symbolism clearly expresses distress. A fly in the mouth is a good sign, since a fly knows where meat is kept and is leading the way to food. A stranger sitting in the guest house of a village regards the appearance of a dog at the door as a good omen, since dogs are sometimes fed. But if a goat appears, the assumption is that no hospitality will be offered, because goats are not fed; they have to pick up a living as best they may. Omens are closely related to taboos and the practice of divination. A client who is disturbed by what he regards as a prescience of evil consults a medicine-man, who, by divination, discovers the meaning of the omen and prescribes either a positive rite, such as sacrifice or the wearing of a charm, or a negative rite in the form of a taboo; that is, a prohibition against some action which might lead to fulfilment of the omen.

#### SUMMARY

The nature of taboo and its connection with magico-religious beliefs and practices have been discussed by R. H. Lowie (1920) and R. R. Marett (1907, pp. 219-234). The relation of magic to witchcraft among the Akamba has been examined by C. W. Hobley (1934, pp. 243-249), and Evans-Pritchard (1928a, 1931, 1932-33, 1937) has explained the psychological and sociological background of magical practices among the Azande. J. S. Lincoln (1935) has published a general textbook on the study of dreams.

Religion has been considered broadly as man's relation to the spiritual, and the essential point to grasp is the existence of two worlds that are similarly organized. The secular world is inhabited by human beings, who realize their dependence on a world of spirits of graded power. These spirits are the souls or ghosts of the dead ancestors, some of whom may attain the rank of tribal gods.

All the data discussed in this chapter are focused on one primary requirement, namely, man's manipulation of spiritual powers. These are separate from and more potent than his own physical and mental endowments. But though this superiority of the spiritual is admitted, man's attitude is one of deference combined with a great measure of confidence in his own ability to direct ancestral benediction for his own benefit, and to avoid ancestral displeasure.

With this object in view, an elaborate mechanism has been evolved. Kings, medicine-men, and the heads of families are the chief means of personal contact with the world of spirits. A king or chief is an effective medium because of divine power that is either innate or obtainable by ritual. A medicine-man owes his position to inborn psychic qualities that are fostered by a training designed to bring him into contact with spiritual power.

In addition to these personal agencies, the means of contact with spirits are those connected with sacrifice, prayer, groves, shrines, and innumerable sacred objects, including trees and animals. Such media may serve only as temporary shrines, but, according to animistic belief, the objects are necessary for the accommodation and localization of ancestral spirits to whom the appeal is directed.

That the religion of Negroes is functional in relation to government, law, and kingship has been demonstrated, and the belief in reincarnation of ancestors implies that the very existence of man is dependent on the cooperation of spirits from another world. A continued study of religion as a dynamic force will now be made in relation to economic life.

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## VII. ECONOMIC LIFE

### AGRICULTURE

*Technique.*—Typically the Negro is a cultivator of forest clearings, in which manioc, yams, groundnuts, sweet potatoes, and maize are cultivated. But this general view of Negro agriculture requires modification. The Ovimbundu are an example of a Negro tribe, or congeries of closely related tribes, that have moved southward from more densely wooded country to open plateaus known as the Benguela Highlands. The heat is moderate and the rainfall is adequate; therefore, the open areas have been used for extensive cultivation of maize. Cattle, too, have been acquired, though they are of social and religious rather than economic importance.

Moreover, the terracing of hillsides, as among the plateau tribes of Nigeria and the Nuba of Kordofan, is a well-known method of growing millet where the local topography does not favor extensive cultivation in large patches.

Terracing is practiced in Tanganyika by tribes in the neighborhood of Meru and Kilimanjaro, by the Wambulu (Iraku) in the north, and by the Wabena in the south (G. E. H. Wilson, 1932, p. 252).

Irrigation also is a local practice which is not typical of the agriculture of forest Negroes or of those living in areas that have a seasonal rainfall. Irrigation, like the cultivation of European vegetables near railways and mission stations, is local and sporadic. The Balante of Portuguese Guinea provide an instance of a Negro tribe with exceptionally varied food supply, including rice, maize, millet, palm oil, beans, tomatoes, gourds, papaya (paw-paw), bananas, cattle (milked by women), sheep, pigs, goats, hens, ducks, and fish (H. A. Bernatzik, 1932, vol. 1, p. 8). West Africa affords many examples of the conduction of water in shallow channels from rivers to the rice fields. The use of animal manures is not general, but fertilization is usually given by cutting and burning the bush to ashes; this is the general method of improving the mineral content of the soil. If crops fail, change of the village site is common.

Although primitive plows have been used in Egypt for several thousand years, their employment has not become general in Africa. Primitive plows drawn by oxen, asses, camels, or women are in use along the Mediterranean seaboard, and in some parts of Abyssinia and Somaliland. The Bari and Dinka have plows; so also have the agricultural sections of the Suk and the Turkana. But, broadly speaking, and making exceptions for sporadic introduction

of plows by Europeans, cultivation with the hoe is typical of Negro agriculture. The hoe blades of iron are made by local blacksmiths, though importations are now common. Usually the blade is fixed in a rough wooden handle of length varying from two to three feet.

Granaries are of many types (Fig. 88). The Ovimbundu build small thatched houses having mud and wattle walls, and the structures are raised several feet above the ground on poles. In the south of Angola, the Vakwanyama make baskets five feet high for storing grain, and each of these containers is raised from the ground under a thatched shelter. In French Niger Territory, I observed storage of grain in large earthen bins almost the size of dwelling huts. Other types of storage bins exist in great variety.

Division of labor between the sexes is important in relation to agriculture. H. von Baumann (1928, pp. 289-391) has studied this subject in detail and has prepared maps that are plotted to indicate a correlation between two social factors. Cultivation of the soil by women is a concomitant of matriarchal conditions, but where patriarchal conditions prevail, or show a mingling with matriarchal organization, males assist with hoe cultivation. The truth or falsity of the thesis naturally depends on rigidity of definition of the terms "matriarchal" and "patriarchal," but in fact there exist typical areas in which men never use a hoe, though they burn the bush and prepare for the work of their women. Again, there are regions where men prepare the ground by clearing the bush and also assist with the harvest, but they do not hoe the ground. In some regions, men assist with all agricultural operations.

Facts relating to agriculture among the Ovimbundu will serve to introduce several general principles of procedure in Negro agriculture, but my observations contain no reference to the importance of ritual, and, for this, recourse must be made to other Negro tribes, both Bantu and Sudanic (see section II, Culture Areas, chap. VI, Agriculture). For west African technique see Forde (1937b).

In addition to maize, beans, groundnuts, and sweet potatoes, the Ovimbundu cultivate five species of manioc, for each of which there is an appropriate method of preparation. The sweet maniocs are eaten raw, but this is not so with the bitter species. *Olungunga* is a bitter manioc whose roots are placed in a stream for four days before they are roasted, after which they may be eaten with impunity, since the poisonous principle has been extracted. Although the roots require this treatment to make them edible, the leaves may be

cooked as soon as gathered, but they should not be eaten while warm. Generally the leaves are served with salt and fat. Manioc is in use all the year, but the greatest quantity is consumed in November and December when the maize harvest is not due and supplies of grain from the previous harvest are depleted.

Sweet potatoes are placed in an earthen pot without removal of the skin. After a period of thirty minutes they are removed, peeled, and eaten. Over the top of the cooking pot a layer of fresh leaves is placed to keep in the steam. The first meal of the day is taken by most of the Ovimbundu very soon after six o'clock in the morning. One of the usual foods is meal sprinkled on water to form a mush which is eaten along with sweet potatoes. At night, mush and beans are eaten, but no midday meal is prepared. The evening meal is usually left simmering in the pot over a slow fire all day. Greens and tomatoes may be eaten as a relish.

Pounding maize on a rock is one of the principal tasks for women, who use a pestle and mortar or a rubbing stone more rarely. The pounder employed is a V-shaped pestle which is swung rhythmically with the right hand and brought down on a pile of maize between the legs of the seated worker. Before a rock can be used for pounding grain, a medicine-man kills a chicken and sprinkles the blood over the surface of the rock. This ritual is essential, and no rock is used before the ceremony has been performed. A pounding rock is a social center where the women sing as they work, pausing at times to indulge in village gossip.

*Tobacco.*—In connection with agriculture, the cultivation of tobacco is important from an economic and social point of view; but the economic significance has declined with the restriction of caravan trade in which coils of tobacco were a medium of exchange and a standard for measuring values. Following a usual Negro custom, the Ovimbundu raise tobacco plants from seed, which is planted in screened patches of ground near the huts. Small plants are pricked out into a large mound of earth, which may be an ant hill in the middle of a field of maize. From many of the plants the flower-buds are picked, so that relatively few of the plants come to seed. Further to stimulate development the lower leaves are removed. The Ovimbundu remove the midrib from each leaf before suspending the bunches of leaves from the inner side of their roofs. At the end of five days, when the leaves are brown, they are twisted into a long rope which is hung in the sun for three days. Three methods of packing tobacco leaves are followed: there are

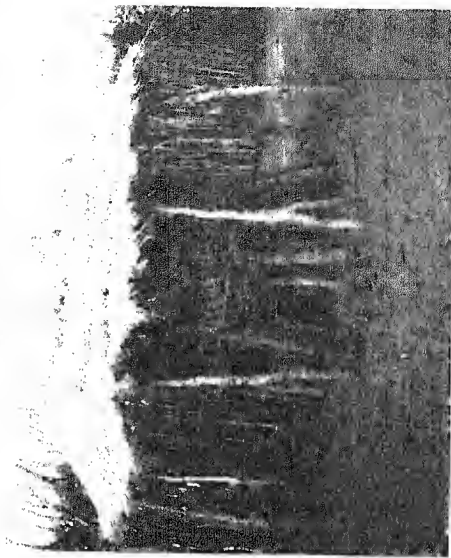
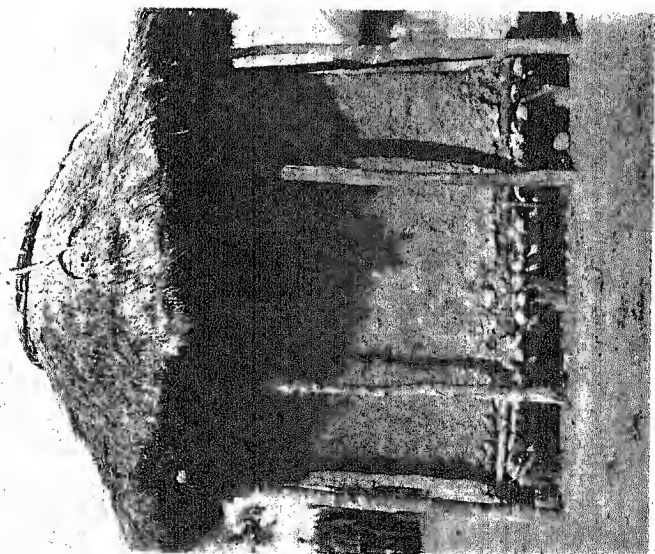


FIG. 88. Granaries, Angola. *a.* Near Ngalangi, a clay and wattle structure. *b.* Vakwanyama, a basket under a thatch.

round and oval coils, and spirals of tobacco twisted round sticks. Snuff is made by baking the leaves and pounding them to a fine powder, which is sometimes mixed with wood ashes.

Snuff boxes and tobacco pipes are among the best examples of the wood-carver's art (M. Shaw, 1935, pp. 141-162). A mixture of tobacco and hemp is sometimes smoked in a water pipe made from a small gourd, or from the horn of an ox or an antelope. The wide end of the horn is plugged with clay, and a hole which will be used as the mouthpiece is bored at the tip. A clay bowl for the tobacco is inserted in the side of the horn. When the smoker applies his lips to the tip of the horn, he draws smoke through the water into his mouth.

Local customs of Negroes differ with regard to the prevalence of smoking tobacco, hemp, or a mixture of the two. Habits of snuffing and chewing vary regionally, as do also the habits of males and females with regard to narcotic drugs. A common Negro custom is the use of a communal tobacco pipe which is passed from hand to hand in the men's house after an evening meal. A summary of the history of tobacco in Africa, the nature and distribution of customs associated with its use, and the types of smoking apparatus employed, is given by Laufer, Hambly, and Linton (Field Museum Leaflet No. 29, 1930).

*Beer.*—Making beer from such grains as maize, millet, durra, or Kafir corn, according to locality, is an occupation of great social and economic importance. Beer is consumed on all ceremonial occasions, and supplies of the beverage are essential for a successful dance. During rites connected with ancestor worship, beer is poured out as a libation, or it is used in lustration ceremonies. For example, a hunter of the Ovimbundu pours beer over the bows of the ancestors before going to hunt. Information given with regard to ceremonial uses of beer among the Balobedu, by E. J. Krige (1932, pp. 343-357) is widely applicable in principle to Negro tribes.

The Ovimbundu make several kinds of beer by methods which are illustrative of general procedure among Negroes. For each kind of beer the Ovimbundu use their staple grain, maize, which is moistened and buried in the ground until it begins to germinate. The sprouting grain is pounded and placed in large pots containing sweet meal of corn. The mixture simmers over a slow fire for two days, and is stirred constantly. A little honey is added, and after the simmering process is finished the beverage is allowed to mature for a few days. This is the beer with greatest alcoholic content;



other less intoxicating kinds are made by reducing or omitting the honey, or permitting only a short time for incomplete germination of the maize. With regard to the most potent beer, my informant said, "A man who has drunk much of this beer will sleep on the ground all day and say nothing."

*Salt.*—The desire for salt in cooking and as food for animals has been of social and economic importance. Negro tribes who keep cattle drive them periodically to saline marshes or to places where there is an outcrop of salt. Before salt could be obtained from traders, who imported it from Europe, sea water was evaporated and traded from the coast inland to be exchanged for tobacco, beeswax, and other indigenous products. In eastern Angola, the Vachokwe follow a common Negro method of making salt from plants. Leaves of a river plant are burnt to ashes, which are soaked in water and strained.

With the advance of European contacts, the commercial value of salt has declined, for most Negroes are acquainted with European money. But only thirty years ago E. Torday paid his carriers in salt during journeys in the southwest Congo region. At that time compensation for murder (blood-money) was paid in salt. The chief of a village, which as a social unit was responsible for a murder committed by one of the inhabitants, paid compensation to relatives of the murdered man. For this purpose, the chief assembled his subjects and collected a handful of salt from each of them.

The importance of salt mines in the Sahara and the stimulus that these gave to trade with Negroes of west Africa, has been described (section I). The trade exists despite European competition, and M. Abadie (1927, pp. 274-280) has pointed out the effects of present-day traffic in stimulating the markets of the western Sudan. The preparation of and trade in salt on the shores of Lake Mweru has been described by R. J. Moore (1937).

But before the Negroes of west Africa depended on extraneous supplies of salt they could make the commodity, especially if living near the coast. J. Matthews (1788, p. 37) speaks of a coastal plain of saline marshes inundated by the sea at intervals. The natives collected the crust of mud left after subsidence of the water, and liquid from the mud was decanted into pans which were placed over a fire until only crystals of salt remained. This salt of Sierra Leone, though impure, was preferred to the white salt sold by Europeans.

*Making Fire.*—Another factor linked with food production and cooking is the making of fire by friction, a method which still persists

not only ceremonially but for ordinary household purposes. Matches are obtainable in many places and flint and steel are widely used for making a spark, yet many tribes still rely on frictional methods. The frictional method of widest distribution is that of twirling a stick of hard wood on a baseboard of softer wood. A quantity of fine dry tinder is placed at the point of friction, and when smoke appears the tinder is puffed into a blaze. In everyday life, the necessity for making fire seldom occurs, since the household fire is not allowed to become extinguished. Logs are pushed forward into the blaze, and dying embers are revived in the morning by adding small pieces of dry bark and blowing the embers. The method of sawing a piece of wood with a strip of rattan is employed on the lower east coast of Africa and in the island of Madagascar; this procedure is probably due to culture contacts with Indonesia. The "Atlas Africanus" gives maps showing the geographical distribution of methods of making fire by friction (Frobenius, 1922).

*The Calendar.*—Among many Negro tribes agricultural operations are the basis of calendrical divisions; these are determined by the alternation of wet and dry seasons, which control operations in the fields. The Umbundu word *oku lima*, to cultivate, gives the word *ulima* for the period between the beginnings of two wet seasons. The main time-mark is the arrival of the first rains in mid-September. The Ovimbundu have no measure for minutes and hours, but in common with many Negro tribes the unit of a day is from sunrise to sunset, and questions about distance are answered by pointing to a place in the sky where the sun will be when the traveler reaches his destination. Days are counted as so many suns, and records of days are kept by making notches on a stick, especially during a journey. In Umbundu, a period of three days would be expressed by *akumbi atatu* (three suns). There is no Umbundu word for week, but a month is *osai* (moon).

The Bakongo calendar is dependent on seasonal divisions, of which there are eight; these are distinguished by depths of rainfall. The European week of seven days is displacing the Congo week of four days, whose names were those of the principal markets (J. H. Weeks, 1914, p. 308).

C. K. Meek (1931a, pp. 453-455) states that the Jukun have a time unit of five and one-half days, which is the time required to make a brew of beer. In terms of this unit a person expresses length of residence or time taken on a journey. For the Jukun the agricultural year is the most important time unit, and the fourteen

subdivisions are known by such names as first rains, first weeding, thinning out, second weeding, and binding. The month of the Jukun depends on lunar phases, yet no regular system has been adopted for naming the months, except that the month in which the harmattan is strongest is the "month of the wind." The lunar months are not adjusted to the solar year.

Consideration of agriculture has so far been limited to a description of typical farming operations and the social factors involved, among which division of labor between the sexes is important. Linked with agricultural operations are several adherent traits of importance. These include culinary operations, manufacture of and trade in salt, making fire, reckoning time, the cultivation of tobacco, and the manufacture of beer. Geophagy is more of a rite than a nutritional custom.

*Geophagy.*—The research of B. Laufer (Field Mus. Nat. Hist., Vol. 18, No. 2, Chicago, 1930), shows a wide distribution of the practice of eating earth. Geophagy is a custom often associated with pregnancy. A. J. N. Tremearne (1913, p. 142) states that Hausa women eat a white earth during the first three months of pregnancy, and he makes further references to earth-eating in "The Ban of the Bori." Tremearne states that women who eat earth do not do so during a famine; therefore, for the Hausa of whom he speaks, the eating of earth appears to be entirely ceremonial. R. F. Burton (1860, vol. 2, p. 28) thought that the Wanyamwezi of east Africa found enjoyment and nutritional value in the earth of termite hills. The earth contains a sticky, sweet substance exuded by the termites when making their tunnels. Mungo Park (1799, p. 327) says, "This practice is by no means uncommon among Negroes, but whether it arises from a vitiated appetite or from a settled intention to enjoy themselves, I cannot affirm."

*Ritual.*—Important as these factors may be, socially and economically, they are subordinate to a ritual element without which no agricultural operations could be successful. The relation of food supply to ancestor worship, and the dependence of secular occupations on spiritual sanction, have been proved by typical examples from Bantu and Sudanic Negro tribes. The instances chosen laid emphasis on the economic importance of religious rites associated with tillage, sowing, and harvesting. The concept of land as a possession of gods and ancestors, and the function of a chief as a distributor of land, have likewise been emphasized in connection with religion and the laws of land tenure (section II, chap. VI).

## DOMESTIC ANIMALS

The main facts relating to animal life in Africa have been summarized in section I, chap. I, "Physiography and Nature Notes." In section II, "The Culture Area Concept," the main features of the camel cultures and the cattle cultures were described.

No general statement can be made respecting the degree of ritual connected with pastoral culture among Negro tribes, but sometimes cattle are of ritual importance as well as of economic value. For example, among the Vakwanyama of south Angola, cattle (Fig. 67, *a*) are of economic as well as ceremonial importance. Oxen are killed at a funeral feast, and their horns are mounted over the grave;

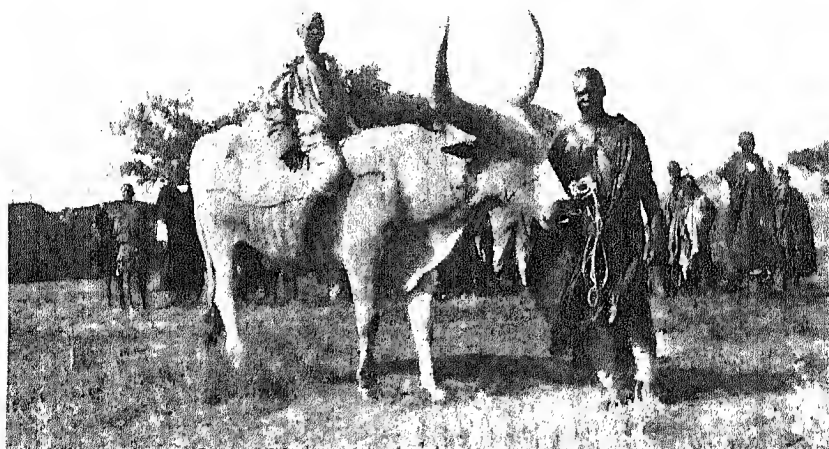


FIG. 89. Long-horned ox, Kukawa, Lake Chad.

chiefs are buried in shrouds of oxhide. Meat is not an ordinary article of diet, but cows are milked, and butter is made by swinging milk in large calabashes suspended from poles. A particularly fine example of the long-horned ox is seen in Fig. 89.

The Bavenda preserve ritual methods for slaughtering cattle, and the attitude of this tribe indicates that the animals are of great social and ritual importance. H. A. Stayt (1931a, p. 40) reports that the slaughterer holds an official position, which is hereditary in the larger villages, and if the meat is unsavory the office is transferred to another person. During the killing, only the official butcher is present, since the flesh of the beast might be contaminated if

other persons were near. The animal is killed by a spear which is thrust behind the shoulder, and it is essential that the spear should have been rubbed with a mixture of dried blood of steenbok and powdered root of a tree. Some of this preparation is forced into the animal's mouth. When the spear has struck, the slaughterer holds his own mouth and nostrils tightly so that, by sympathetic processes, the animal will soon succumb. For further information on the ritual associated with cattle, see section II, chapter III, "Pastoral Pursuits."

Many Negro tribes who are not Mohammedanized keep pigs. These are often of a lean, long-snouted breed known in animal husbandry as Keltic; but traces of European breeds are noticeable in many regions. Goats are almost ubiquitous, and the same may be said of lean poultry. Sheep of the fat-tailed Syrian breed are common. None of these animals is of ritual importance, except that chickens and goats are the animals usually chosen for sacrifice during acts of ancestor worship. Fig. 13 shows (a) the fat-tailed sheep of Asiatic origin, reared extensively in Cape Colony, and good for surviving on scanty pasture during drought; (b) the long-eared Syrian goat; (c) a fat-rumped sheep of Asia, Arabia, and northeast Africa, also a good survivor in drought. Lean dogs of a greyhound type are widely distributed and in many tribes are used during hunting. Weeks (1913, p. 233) mentions the use of dogs as food in the Central Congo region. This custom may be fairly common, but the evidence has not been collated.

Arguments relating to the distribution of species and their probable origins are too detailed and controversial to recapitulate here. Two main breeds of cattle are the long-horned Damara breed and the humped zebu cattle. Short-legged goats with heavy bodies are common in west Africa, and long-legged goats have a wide distribution. Problems relating to domestic animals, their history, and economic uses have been fully discussed by H. Kroll (1928-29, pp. 177-290). L. S. B. Leakey (1934c, pp. 70-79) calls attention to certain social and economic problems associated with herding of goats and sheep among the Akikuyu. For additional information on oxen, consult section I, "Animal Life," and section II, chapter III, "Pastoral Pursuits."

Kroll's survey of the economic use of domestic animals leaves the general impression that in concentrating on agriculture Negroes fail to use and develop sources of animal foods. Many tribes have an aversion to milk; therefore, cattle and goats are not milked, and

butter and cheese are unknown. Goats pick their own food supply, and since they are almost omnivorous in their selection of vegetable foods, there is no cost of maintenance. But hundreds of Negro tribes who rear goats have no system of husbandry; they make no use of the milk; and have no system of slaughter and preservation of the flesh by drying and smoking. Activity of this kind is, generally speaking, unknown, but such an industry would often relieve the distress resulting from a bad harvest.

All Negroes are fond of meat and will gorge themselves if a large antelope is killed, but their social and economic habits are fixed, and it is exceptional to find tribes who regard the flesh of goats, pigs, and chickens as part of a normal diet. Chickens are housed at night and hens often sit on their clutches within the dwellings of their owners, but no organized attempt at poultry farming is made, though eggs are appreciated in many regions.

The use or neglect of valuable foods is, however, an inquiry leading to the broad question of the psychology of social customs and economic habits, with their associated prejudices and taboos. A study of Kroll's data respecting the use or avoidance of milk and meats by Bantu Negroes shows how arbitrarily the factors of acceptance or rejection appear to operate. With the advance of technical education in colleges where Africans are trained as demonstrators and teachers, and with progress in research undertaken by government departments, a breaking down of prejudices may result in a fuller recognition of the value of animal foods and a willingness to devote time to animal husbandry.

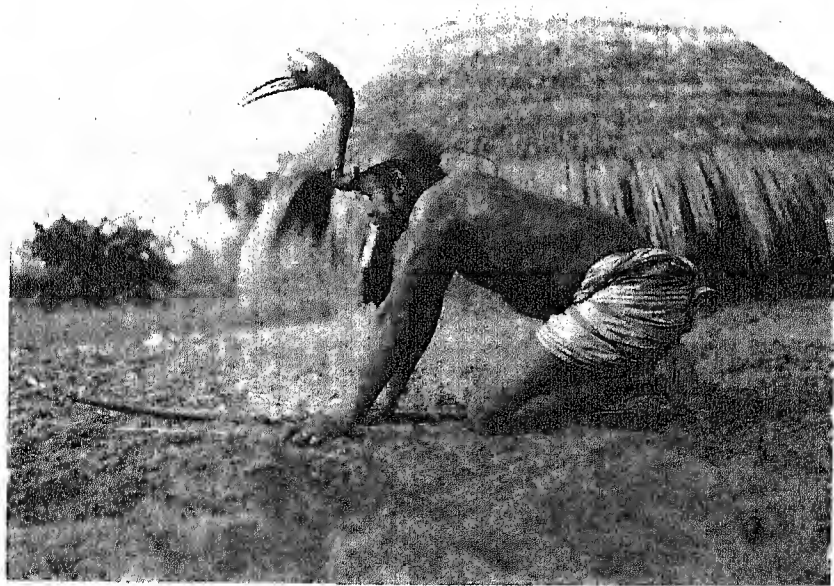
#### HUNTING

Facts relating to this activity among Negroes bring out clearly their idea of the dependence of success on religious belief and ritual. Hunting devices and technique, which have been described by K. G. Lindblom (1925, 1926), and E. Keller (1936), are of great variety and ingenuity, but their effectiveness is thought by many tribes to be dependent on social and religious observances. (See section II, chap. II, "Hunting Cultures.")

Social and religious practices of the Ovimbundu illustrate some points of importance in connection with hunting. A communal hunt is one in which all men of a village may take part, and women and children are employed in firing the dry grass and driving the game to places where hunters are concealed. In this type of hunting no ritual is observed. In each village, however, there are one or more professional hunters (*ukongo*) who depend for success on



a



b

FIG. 90. Negro hunters. *a.* Ocimbundu near Elende, Angola. *b.* Munshi near Katsina Ala, Nigeria.

specialized training and the observance of ritual throughout their lives. These persons are given special funeral rites and stone tombs of peculiar construction.

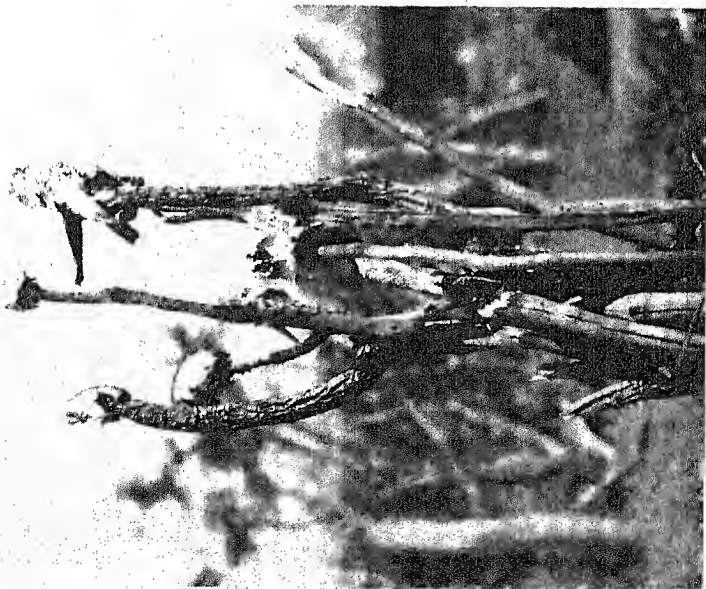
A boy who wishes to become a professional hunter has to serve for two years with a man known as *ukongo* (Fig. 90, *a*) before he himself can receive this title. At the end of his training, a feast is given in the village, and, though all persons may attend, only professional hunters may dance. The novice who is to be initiated may not move or speak until he feels "spirit on his head," then, when the impulse of spirit possession urges him, he distributes the meat that hunters have provided for the feast. The blood from these animals is used to smear on the bow, arrows, and spear that the master presents to his pupil.

The night before a professional hunter sets out for the chase is a time of ritual dances and observances for renewing the effectiveness of his weapons. The hunter enters the house of bows where he preserves the weapons of dead ancestors, and there he rubs the bows with oil and pours libations of beer over them. This is a form of ancestor worship and a recognition of the power of the dead to influence the welfare of the living. The food and cooking pots of a hunter must never be associated with the victuals and utensils of ordinary household use. If a hunter is following the tracks of an animal, he should not point with his finger or with the iron tip of an arrow, though the feathered butt may be used. Failure to observe this custom results in driving away the game. A hunter may not sleep with his wife the night before the chase. Early in the morning and before leaving for the chase, a hunter bathes his eyes in a concoction of herbs to improve his vision.

Trophies of the hunt are placed on high poles before a hunter's hut (Fig. 91, *a*), and after the funeral of a hunter trophies of this kind are sometimes laid on the top of his rock tomb (Fig. 91, *b*). The special observances of the Ovimbundu could be paralleled from many tribes. C. Seyffert (1911, pp. 91-113) has described in detail the magic and ritual connected with hunting of elephants in the Cameroons, and I. Schapera (1932, No. 327) emphasizes the importance of ritual in connection with hunting lions in the Kalahari. An article by A. Even (1936) gives further data on ritual and elephant hunting.

Some Negro tribes, for example, the Ashanti (Rattray, 1927a, p. 183), lay special emphasis on the need for placating the soul of an animal killed in the chase. When classifying the souls of animals according to their danger to a hunter, the Ashanti disregard the





*a*



*b*

FIG. 91. *a*. Hunter's trophies, Ovimbundu. *b*. Hunter's tomb, Ovimbundu, Luimbale.

degree of natural ferocity. The buffalo or bush cow is a dangerous animal, but its *sasa* or soul is said to be harmless. On the contrary, an antelope, which is small and timid, is classed with animals having dangerous souls, and an antelope called the bongo has the most vindictive *sasa* of all creatures. A hunter must not mention the name of this antelope, and he has to speak of the animal in a whisper.

Dancing is essential after killing an elephant, and neglect of the rite would mean that the hunter who killed the animal would never again be successful in hunting elephants. The *sasa* of the elephant would cause the hunter to become fat, and he would eat all day, yet without any satisfaction, until at last he would die.

In many Negro tribes, some form of ritual observance, having as its object the efficiency of hunting dogs, is practiced. The Ovimbundu clip the ears of dogs to make them hear well. The Bangala give their dogs potions to make them courageous (J. H. Weeks, 1913, p. 233). At intervals, the medicine-men of the Bavenda rub medicines on the eyes and noses of dogs in order to quicken the senses. A dog which has the habit of seizing a buck, then releasing him, has his teeth well rubbed with medicine to make him more tenacious (Stayt, 1931a, p. 45).

Often in purely Negro tribes hunters are of good social standing, but this is not generally so in certain Hamiticized tribes of north-east Africa. An article concerning the social and economic relationship of some pastoral Hamites and adjacent hunters assesses the relative social standing of the two. The general tendency is for hunters to be regarded as inferior in status to the pastoral tribes with which they trade (G. W. B. Huntingford, 1929, pp. 333-375; 1931, No. 262).

In addition to Lindblom's account of hunting appliances, including many types of traps and weapons together with maps showing their geographical distribution, students of the technique of hunting have a valuable source of information in L. S. B. Leakey's (1926, pp. 259-294) description of the structure of African bows and arrows, including wooden arrows for killing birds. Fig. 90, b shows the disguise assumed by a Munshi hunter of Nigeria, who conceals himself in long grass.

Crossbows were introduced into west Africa by the Portuguese about the sixteenth century. These weapons, which are used for hunting rather than warfare, have a distribution limited to the west of the continent, chiefly Nigeria, the Cameroons, and French Equatorial Africa. The Fang living north of the Congo estuary,

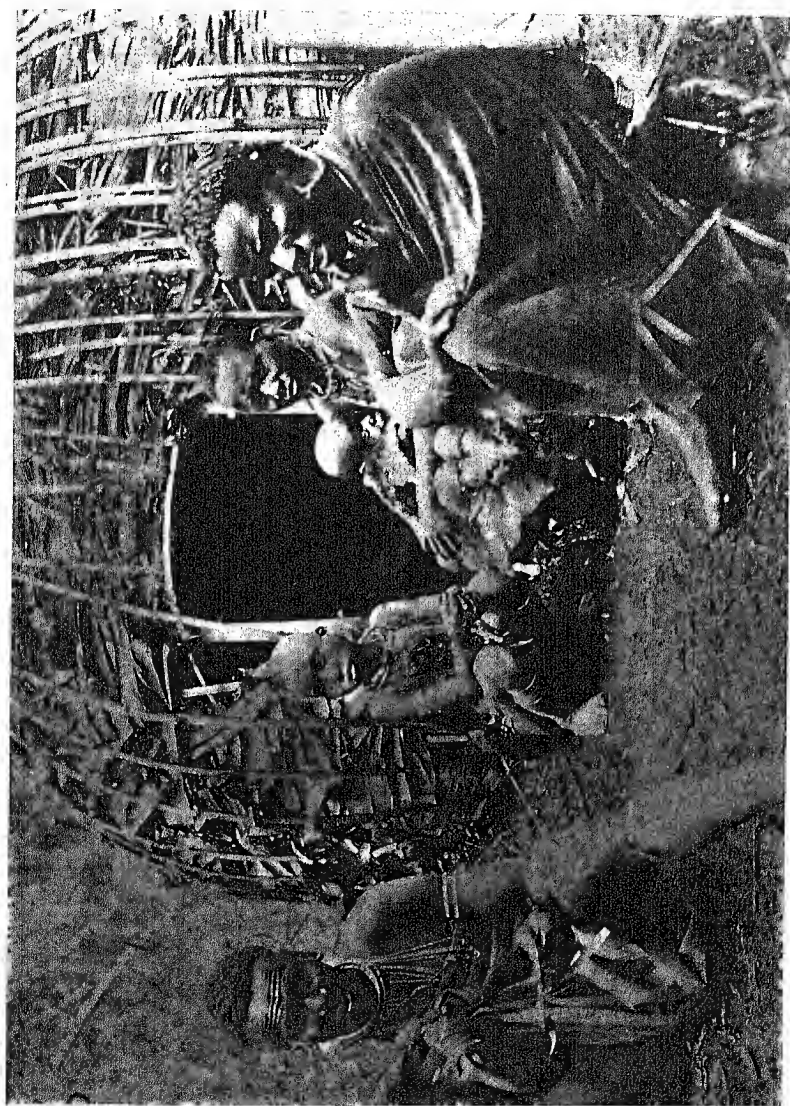


FIG. 92. Wandorobo, hunters of Kenya. Houses are like those of Ituri Pygmies.

also other tribes, use a crossbow to shoot light, poisoned darts at birds and fish (H. Balfour, 1909, pp. 337-356; P. G. H. Powell-Cotton, 1929, No. 1).

To the instances of ceremonial preparation of arrow poison, which was previously mentioned in connection with warfare, should be added the data given by R. S. Rattray for the Ashanti hinterland (1932a, vol. 1, p. 175; vol. 2, p. 412). Among the Dagba, men who are making poisoned arrows have to be sexually continent, and during preparation of the poison they are not allowed food or drink. The prepared arrows are carried to the village from their secret place of manufacture by a young virgin. It is believed that without this ritual the poison is ineffective. H. Labouret (1931, p. 101) has given a particularly instructive account of the preparation of arrow poison from *strophanthus*, which is commonly used for this purpose by west African Negroes and by many other tribes in widely separated parts of the continent.

#### FISHING

This occupation is widely distributed among Negroes living near lakes, rivers, and the sea. Study of the technique of fishing covers a wide field of research into the use of nets, weirs, baskets, spears, bows and arrows, canoes, and poisons. Several comprehensive articles have dealt with these technological aspects. The photographs and descriptions of fishing operations in the Kavirondo Gulf, as recorded by C. M. Dobbs (1927, pp. 97-100), give information which has a wide application, though each locality has its own peculiar development of technique, and of ritual also. F. Claus (1930, pp. 1095-1114) has described the use of toxic plants for preparing poisons that stupefy the fish. K. G. Lindblom (1933) has contributed a detailed study of the use and geographical distribution of two types of fishing basket.

Apart from the question of technical appliances and methods of work, the main considerations are (1) seasonal variations in method; (2) allocation of method according to sex; (3) observance of ritual and taboo to secure success in fishing. Examination of the practices of the Ovimbundu will exemplify the operation of these principles.

The chief methods of this tribe are fishing with a rod and line, the use of weirs (Fig. 94, b), dragging baskets against the stream, fixing small nets to sticks in shallow water, and scattering poison on the surface. Near the coast, large circular nets are used for casting, and fishing spears with sharp bamboo prongs are employed.

Fishing with a baited line is a method confined to males. Women use drag-baskets and employ narcotic poisons. When canoes are used, they are paddled by men. If a current flows swiftly, men assist women in dragging large baskets against the stream. These are the chief divisions of labor according to sex.

Two points of ritual are observed. The night before fishing, men must abstain from sexual intercourse. And when fishing with a line, success depends on the chanting of a spell to encourage the fish to bite.

The fishing line of the Ovimbundu consists of a tough strip of bark that varies in length with the height of the river bank on which the fisherman sits. A hole is bored through the body of a grasshopper, a worm, or a pupa taken from under the bark of a tree. Through this hole in the bait is passed a short, stiff piece of grass to which the line is attached. The fish is caught when it swallows the bait and the stiff piece of grass becomes transfixed. When a fisherman throws his line he sings:

O fish, come and taste your good thing.  
Do not send a little fish to spoil the good thing.  
Better you come and take the good thing with all your strength.

To make fish-poison, the tuberous roots of a plant are soaked in water until scum rises to the top. The solid part of the narcotic is not given because it would sink, and the fish that ate it would remain at the bottom of the river. No fishing can be successful unless the fish rise, and the taboo against sexual intercourse the night before fishing must be observed to prevent the fish, males and females, from remaining together on the river bed. Poisonous scum causes fish to gasp at the surface, where they are seized by women and transferred to gourds which the women wear round their necks. Poison is used only in dry weather when water is shallow and pools have been formed in the beds of rivers.

When a weir (*olunja*) is employed, the device consists of a wicker fence with a gap in the middle, and on the lower side of this aperture a basket is placed. The Ovimbundu do not fish by torchlight, though this is a well-known method among Negro tribes. The poisoning method and all the other techniques mentioned are widely used. Harpoons with detachable, barbed, iron heads are unknown among the Ovimbundu, but they are of local occurrence elsewhere, notably among the Buduma of Lake Chad and the Munshi of Katsina Ala in southeast Nigeria. H. A. Stayt (1931a, pp. 80, 237) gives an account of the Bavenda method of shooting fish with bows

and arrows. He notes that fishing is a favorite pastime of young boys, but the occupation is disliked by adult males and is entirely taboo for women. The dependence of occupation on religious belief is aptly illustrated by Stayt's account of Lake Fundudzi, which is inhabited by ancestral spirits. "Although the lake swarms with fish no one has succeeded in landing a fish caught there. Water, if carried away from the lake in an open receptacle, simply vanishes away. Water sealed up for a day or two will burst the vessel that holds it, leaving a curious characteristic odour behind it."

A common form of canoe in the forest regions of west and central Africa is the heavy dugout, which is often made from a bombax tree, whose massive trunk can provide a canoe thirty feet in length, though the actual length is sometimes as little as eight feet. The dugout is employed outside forest areas, but the size diminishes away from big timber (A. T. and G. M. Culwick 1935c, pp. 265-273).

Fig. 93, b shows a type of bark canoe used by the Vachokwe of eastern Angola during fishing operations. A fisherman uses this kind of vessel for short journeys into mid-stream, where he sets his nets. The Buduma of Lake Chad have a type of canoe made by lashing together bundles of reeds to make a canoe with a prow (Fig. 95). Such a vessel is employed for fishing and for the transport of natron and animals. With a few weeks of constant use, these reed canoes become waterlogged.

Contacts with Asia have resulted in the appearance of outrigger canoes near the coasts of Madagascar and east Africa. J. Hornell (1919, No. 55) points out that a structural relationship exists between this kind of canoe and certain designs of outrigger canoes from Java. This Asiatic influence has possibly affected the construction of canoes on the shores of Lake Victoria Nyanza, where the Baganda build large vessels consisting of dugout hulls having their sides built up with planks. The details of construction have been described and sketched by P. Kollmann (1899, pp. 22-26). Other contributors to the subject of Indonesian influences are A. C. Haddon (1918, No. 29; 1920, pp. 69-134), A. T. and G. M. Culwick (1935c), and R. B. Dixon (1928).

#### NATURE LORE AND COLLECTING

Purely hunting tribes, such as the Bushmen of the Kalahari Desert and the Pygmies of the Ituri Forest, show a high degree of specialization in nature knowledge and in the collecting of wild produce, both vegetable and animal. This work is a staple task of women and children.

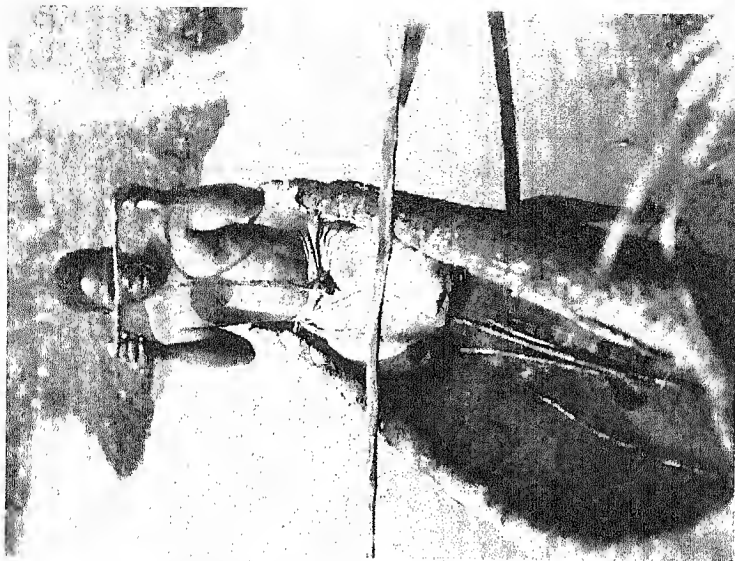
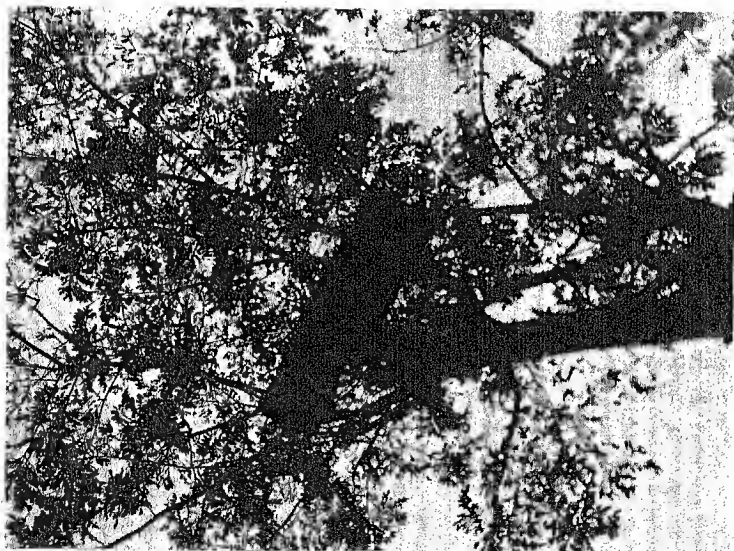


FIG. 93. Food-collecting and fishing. *a*. Beehive, eastern Angola. *b*. Fisherman in bark canoe, Vachokwe, Cangamba.

In many Negro tribes also these tasks are relegated to women and children, and supplies of food gathered in this way are highly valued, despite an abundance and variety of agricultural produce. In the large markets of Ibadan in Nigeria, the Yoruba, though provided with yams and other cultivated products, carry on a brisk trade in tortoises, large land snails, and rats on skewers.

Among the Ovimbundu, in addition to medicine-men who have detailed knowledge of curative plants, all men and boys have a large vocabulary relating to trees, birds, reptiles, and many varieties of edible rats and mice. Every man knows what timbers are best suited for building houses that will resist the attacks of termites, and all are acquainted with the best woods for making bows. Timbers for drums, for domestic utensils, and for charcoal are readily recognized.

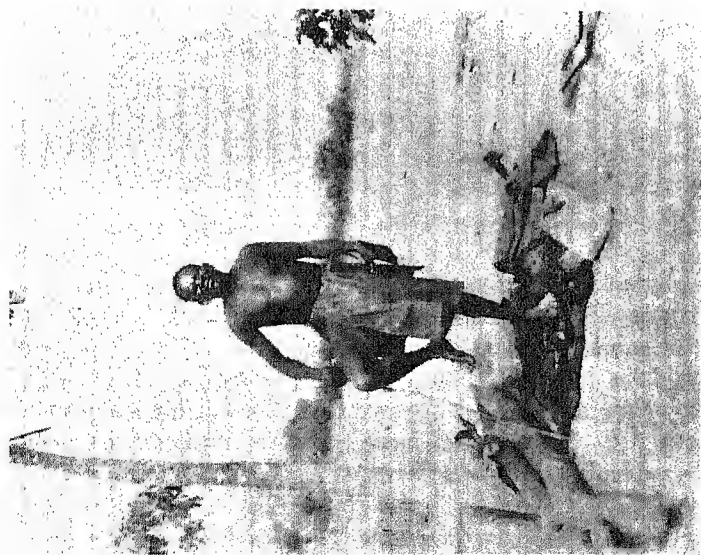
Names of fifty distinct species of birds were obtained from the Ovimbundu, who imitate bird calls and interpret their meaning. Nature lore of this kind not only serves a practical purpose in connection with food supply and handicrafts, but it enriches the vocabulary and is the basis for folklore stories of animals and their habits.

One bird makes a cry which is a warning that guests will visit the village, for the bird calls, "Where will the guests stay? Where? Where? Where?" The calls and answers between male and female birds are interpreted as conversation of a human kind. The female hornbill says, "I'm going, I'm going, I'm going to our village." To this, the male replies, "Don't go, don't go; the rain has come; let us plant." In distinguishing small mammals, lizards, and snakes, men of the Ovimbundu are adept, but at times a difference of opinion arises when two closely related varieties are discussed.

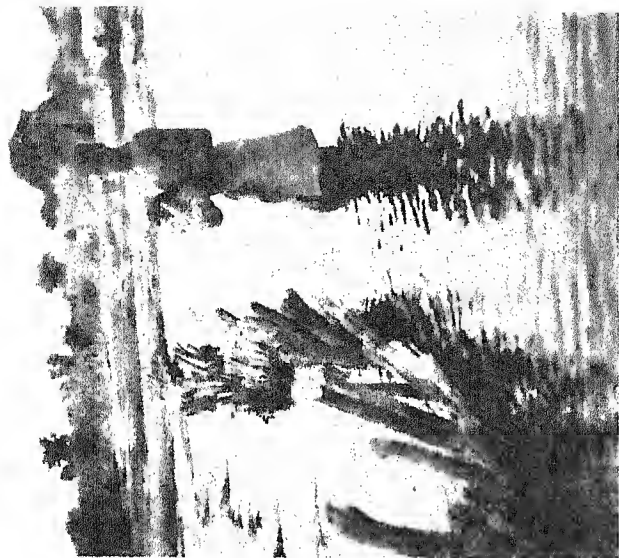
In common with many Negro tribes, the nature lore of the Ovimbundu includes knowledge of the weather, which to some extent is thought to be under the control of *ocimbanda opulia*, the medicine-man of the rain. No man thinks that the course of the sun can be changed, but a magical rite can retard the setting. A traveler who is almost benighted breaks a piece of earth from a termite hill, then with the words, "O sun, wait for me a little while," he places the earth in the forked branch of a tree. An eclipse of the sun is *uteke vutana*, meaning night in daylight. Some of the stars are named; these serve to give direction during journeys, and the phases of the moon mark intervals of time.

Although the Ovimbundu have advanced far beyond the stage of dependence on hunting and collecting, both occupations are





a



b

FIG. 94. a. Ukwanyama man preparing hides by treading. b. Fishing by a weir at Maiduguri, Nigeria.

followed with zest, and this is true of most Negro tribes. Ovimbundu boys shoot small birds with blunt wooden arrows or snare them with mucilage. Children catch rats and mice in cane traps of conical form; these are set in dry grass which is ignited. Boys search diligently for nests, which are robbed of their eggs or fledglings. Women and children collect caterpillars, which are squeezed into boiling water to make soup. Locusts are sometimes eaten fresh after roasting them on hot ashes, or they may be preserved in fat or salt. Wild, edible fruits are collected by women and children.

Apiculture consists of placing hives in forest trees; this method of the Ovimbundu is common in many parts of east Africa as well



FIG. 95. Canoe of papyrus reeds, Buduma, Lake Chad.

as in the southwest. The hives so employed are generally made of cylinders of bark (Fig. 93, *a*). The Ovimbundu of Elende remove honey from these hives in August and December. One man ascends a tree to lower the hive with a rope of bark or plaited fiber, while beneath the tree stand men and boys who receive the hive and open it over a smoky fire. The workers have no protection; consequently, they are at times badly stung. Boys who run away in fear are denied a share of the honey.

Honey is eaten alone or with manioc, and portions of the comb are added to maize when making beer. Wax from the combs is rolled into balls which form a unit of trade. Wax is now collected at stores of traders who export the commodity to the coast.

Some hill tribes of Nigeria construct hives in the mud walls of their houses by inserting pots with their covered mouths directed outward; a small hole is left in this cover for the entrance and exit of the bees. To collect honey, the bees are driven out by heating the pot, which is then emptied and resealed. Men who empty the hives give themselves protection against stings by smearing their bodies with a vegetable juice. A. T. Culwick (1936, No. 95) has contributed to the subject of honey-gathering, and a complete survey of apiculture among Negroes has been published by C. Seyffert (1930).

The manner in which collecting of wild produce can develop into a well-organized industry is exemplified by an instance given by A. W. Cardinall (1927a, p. 78). During a period of three years, some of the chiefs of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast prohibited the gathering of snails because of rapid depletion of the stock. But in normal years the collecting season begins with the rains and lasts for six weeks. During the collecting period, men, women, and children migrate to the forests, where they work all day collecting large snails. Women break the shells with wooden platters, dry the meat and smoke it, then place it on large skewers. This meat is sold to neighboring tribes, but visitors from these tribes are permitted to collect snails for themselves, provided they pay a tax of one skewer of snails in every ten gathered.

#### COMMERCE

Study of commerce in Negro tribes should include an examination of small trade, organization of caravans, establishment of large markets, the use of currencies, systems of counting, and units of measurement. Contacts with Europeans during four centuries have given an incalculable stimulus to African trade. New commodities have been introduced, and though some indigenous handicrafts have been discouraged, for example, weaving, other activities have been stimulated. European contacts have given an impetus to artistic work in leather and brass, for instance, in Nigeria, and especially when these subjects are taught in industrial schools.

With the exception of large markets at coast towns of Benguela, Loanda, and Lobito, Portuguese West Africa is a colony of small trade, for the famous caravan trade has fallen into desuetude. One may travel thousands of miles in the interior of Angola without seeing a large market; all trade, apart from the sale of European commodities in stores, is carried on by petty barter in villages. Here the blacksmith makes hoe blades, ax-heads, and arrow-points which he barter, or sells, using the Portuguese *angolare* (about five cents)

as a unit of value. Most of the trade is measured in this paper unit and larger denominations are regarded with suspicion; they are not well understood by the natives.

As an extreme contrast from this condition of small trade, the permanent markets of Nigeria may be mentioned. The largest of these are at Ibadan, Ilorin, Kano, Sokoto, and Maiduguri, where great emporia of trade were anciently established. Introduction of European trade has increased the size of the markets, but they were organized on a large scale before European influence was felt. From miles around, artisans bring their wares, including pottery, mats, baskets, brasswork, leather goods and foods. Some industries are permanently established in markets; for example, the market of Kano has sections for leather, silverwork, gourds, and weaving of baskets. Markets of northern Nigeria, and especially the market at Kano, still show an enormous caravan trade; trains of camels, donkeys, and oxen arrive daily from all directions, and for centuries Kano has been the great emporium for the western Sudan, eastern Sudan, and the trans-Saharan trade. In east Africa, the town of Omdurman has a corresponding commercial standing.

The caravan trade and the development of markets were, during several centuries, stimulated by American and European demands for slaves, ivory, and gold dust. European goods, such as cloth, muzzle-loading guns, powder, brass rods, gin and rum, were supplied to caravans, or the commodities were traded at the coast, to which caravans from the far interior brought their slaves and ivory. The Bihéan section of the Ovimbundu organized caravans that crossed Africa to Lake Tanganyika, where they came in touch with Arab traders from the east coast, and the Arabs themselves, after raiding villages of the Congo region, formed caravans of slaves who carried ivory to Zanzibar.

In connection with the Bihéan caravan trade certain ritual was practiced. The skull of a chief was consulted and asked for a blessing, while sacrifice was made and a new piece of oxhide wrapping was given to the skull. Each caravan was accompanied by one or more medicine-men, who gave advice concerning the route and the welfare of the enterprise. For this purpose they consulted a small female figurine of wood having a feather head-dress. By ventriloquism this figure *ngeve*, which is still obtainable in Angola, was made to give audible replies. Horns of antelope were filled with "medicine," including fat and charcoal, and these charms were stuck in the ground near camps to keep away thieves and wild animals.

There is evidence to indicate that the founding of a successful market does not depend entirely on secular considerations, such as choice of a site which is easily accessible by river. H. Labouret (1931, p. 353) points out that a diviner is consulted so that a propitious situation may be chosen. M. J. and F. S. Herskovits (1933, p. 70) refer to a guardian divinity of the market to whom twins must be shown before they are members of their group. "Buried under its mound, this market Aiza, which is made of the earth of seven prosperous markets, has ingredients dug out of the earth that are called the 'eyes' and 'heart' of the earth, as well as samplings of all that is sold in the markets: grains, fruits, cloth, animals, slaves." A complete survey of trade among Negroes would prove that commerce, like agriculture, hunting, and fishing, has a spiritual as well as a secular aspect; therefore, success is dependent on the cooperation of some power or patron who is more effective than the intelligence of man.

The chief mechanisms of trade are currencies, methods of counting, and the use of standards for measuring length, weight, and capacity. In time past, one of the most general currencies has been cowrie shells, which have been traded from the Indian Ocean all over the continent south of 10° N. Lat. S. Johnson (1921, p. 118) states that as late as the year 1897 coins were a curiosity if seen far from the coast of Nigeria, and the general table of reckoning counted forty cowries one string, fifty strings one head, and ten heads one bag. Then later, when money and cowries circulated together, two thousand cowries were valued at sixpence.

Emin Pasha found that in Uganda in the year 1888 one hundred cowries on a string was a unit of currency, and that five strings were valued at three shillings and sixpence. An ox was valued at fifty strings of cowries; that is, five thousand shells. On the east coast, a Maria Theresa dollar was valued at five strings of cowries, and every animal or commodity had a value expressed in cowries.

J. A. Skertchly (1874, p. 227) states that, during his visit to Dahomey (1870), Géléle, the king, threw bunches of cowries to his nobles, causing them to indulge in a wild scramble. This was followed by a similar competition for ambassadors and strangers. Cowries were placed on the heads of victims who were about to be sacrificed to provide service for dead kings. The cowries were intended for use of the victims in a spirit world. Despite an increasing use of European coins and paper money, cowries are still extensively employed in parts of west Africa, and large payments are

made through this medium, for example, in the city of Djenne (Monteil, 1932, pp. 267-273) and in Ashanti hinterland (Rattray, 1932a, vol. 2, pp. 414, 416). For large transactions, cowrie shells are not counted but measured in a vessel of known capacity.

In addition to cowrie shells, many kinds of currency, some of them extremely cumbersome, have been used. The principal of these were spearheads, hoe blades, brass rods (A. C. Haddon, 1908, No. 65), X-shaped ingots of copper, ivory measured by the hand's span, tobacco, salt, rubber, wax, gin, rum, and manillas. The last-named are still procurable in southern Nigeria. The form of the token is that of an open oval bracelet, made of bronze and thickened at each end. R. P. Wild (1936, No. 99) has written an article on "Iron Disc Currency from Ashanti."

In Ashanti, gold dust was a form of currency which was measured by little weights of cast brass; these were made by the lost-wax process to be described in connection with handicrafts. If the weight was not heavy enough, a small amount of metal was added by filling cavities, and if the weight was too heavy it could be reduced by filing. A king was allowed to obtain revenue by using a special set of weights rather heavier than those employed in ordinary trade; therefore, he received an advantage when gold dust was weighed out to him. Each weight represents a proverb, and definite mass relationships exist between some of the weights. The subject has been dealt with in scientific books and articles (Rattray, 1923, pp. 300-313; 1927a, p. 311; N. W. Thomas, 1920b, pp. 52-68; R. Zeller, 1912, pp. 1-77).

Two widely distributed methods of keeping tallies of numbers are the notching of sticks and the tying of knots in cords. The Ekoi and other tribes of southeast Nigeria keep numerical records by dropping small stones or grains of corn into a calabash. Records of payments are sometimes made by chalking vertical strokes on walls. The Ekoi system of reckoning consists of counting, first on the fingers, then on the toes, but if the number exceeds twenty the accountant lays on the ground a stick for each group of five. P. A. Talbot (1912, p. 304) mentions the use of finger signs for numbers; such methods of counting are common among Negroes. The Ovimbundu count quickly up to ten by hand signs, and J. H. Weeks (1909, p. 419) has made a study of the Bangala system of digital counting, which he has illustrated in detail to show the positions of the fingers.

Hausa traders of west Africa make use of parts of their bodies as standards of measurement (C. K. Meek, 1925, vol. 2, p. 153).

Thus a span from the forefinger to the thumb is *teki*, the length of the foot is *taiki*, from the elbow to the knuckles is *dungu*, and the distance between the tips of the middle fingers when the arms are stretched in line with the shoulders is *gaba*. Counting is done on fingers and toes, and *ya gurum*, "the whole man," means all the fingers and toes. The number two hundred is *ya gurum tar*, meaning "the whole man ten times over."

A system of measures used by the Ovimbundu is illustrative of the general nature of such measurements among trading Negroes. The Ovimbundu have measures of length, area, and capacity, but no measure of weight which is not of Portuguese origin. The unit of length, *epaluma*, is the distance from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the middle finger when the hand is outstretched. This is used to measure tobacco before it has been coiled. Cloth is measured by stretching the arms to their full extent in line with the shoulders; the distance between the tips of the middle fingers is *epeka*. The stride for measuring land is *elianga*. *Ondjimba* is an area of land about twenty-five feet square. *Etemo*, meaning a hoe, is an area of land two hundred yards long and thirty feet broad.

Measures of capacity are provided by various baskets. A large conical basket called *ohumba* has an interwoven mark which indicates a measure for maize, meal, and beans. *Ocitenge* is a coarsely made basket used as a unit of capacity. Palm oil is measured in a gourd of definite size. The forked stick of a porter is made to hold a load of about sixty pounds, which is carried for a distance of twenty miles each day. A load for a woman is about twenty pounds lighter. An extensive study of African weights and measures has been published by D. Kürchoff (1908, pp. 289-342).

Trade has resulted in the exchange of tangible commodities of many kinds, including Negro slaves, and a great variety of European goods. The less tangible effects of commerce are found in distribution of vocabularies of such trade languages as Hausa, Umbundu, and Swahili, and in the reciprocal exchange of cultural traits, including handicrafts and the technical processes associated with these. In the course of time, these newly acquired factors become so welded into the culture which adopted them that the acquired traits appear to be part of the original pattern.

#### ARTS AND HANDICRAFTS

The only satisfactory study of this subject must be practically made in a well-equipped museum, where objects can be handled and compared. Nevertheless, an outline of the chief industries, with

notes on their techniques and distribution, can be given. Negro artisans are concerned mainly with working in iron, wood-carving, making pottery, and weaving baskets and mats. Dyes are manufactured from vegetable substances and used for coloring basketry and cotton cloth. Despite the importation of foreign cloth many Negroes, both men and women, are expert weavers on primitive looms. Working in leather and hides is a common industry which is highly developed in some parts of west Africa, and here brass casting is carried on in several centers. Carving in ivory, which was formerly a major industry in several localities, is now rapidly falling into desuetude. Bark cloth is still made, but the general tendency is to replace this clothing with imported cotton goods. Elaborate beadwork, some of which is made with cowrie shells, or with colored imported beads, is a Negro industry, the best examples of which are made by tribes of the Cameroons in west Africa and by Zulu tribes of the southeast of the continent.

In this section, the details of technical processes are subordinate to social, religious, and economic problems associated with handicrafts, since technology has been described in many scientific articles quoted in the bibliography. Division of labor according to age, sex, and special aptitude is important, as is the hereditary right to an occupation, and the formation of guilds of artisans. The best art of Africa has been produced under strong religious influence, as at Benin, and even the simplest industrial operations are by some tribes thought to be dependent on magical rites, together with the observance of prohibitions and the consultation of omens. G. A. Stevens (1935, p. 113) states, "Primitive art is the most pure, most sincere form of art there can be, partly because it is deeply inspired by religious ideals and spiritual experiences, and partly because it is entirely unself-conscious. There are no tricks which can be acquired by the unworthy."

*Wood-carving.*—The skill of Negroes in wood-carving has attracted more attention than any other form of Negro art. Many of the timbers used are extremely hard species, such as mahogany and ebony; the skill of the workers is attested by the beautiful results achieved with only an adze, an ax, and a knife as tools. The adze and the ax are generally one tool whose form is changed by reversing the direction of the cutting edge. A Negro wood-carver does not attempt joinery, but hacks each form from a solid block of wood, securing a rough outline with his adze and ax, then carving the details with his knife. Joinery may be seen here and there; for example, the Ovimbundu





FIG. 96. Carved wooden drum, Bamendjo tribe, Cameroons. Scale about 1:8.

make stools with neatly jointed legs, but this is due to European influence, and older stools were well carved from one matrix.

The most massive wood-carvings of Africa are made in the central area of the Cameroons, where elaborately carved window frames, door posts, beds, stools, drums (Fig. 96), and large effigies of human beings are produced. Small carving is exquisitely done by the Bushongo of the southwest Congo, whose memorial figurines and drinking cups are works of art. The Ovimbundu are skilled in carving animals, ornamental staffs and batons for chiefs (Figs. 99, 100); so also are the Zulu and some tribes of the Cameroons. Carving of small human figures that are used in magical rites and ancestor worship is typical of the west coast regions from Sierra Leone to Nigeria, thence through the Cameroons into the Congo region and Angola.

General resemblances in the styles of Negro art are noticeable, but with practice local styles are soon recognized. Masks from the Ivory Coast, Dahomey, the Yoruba of Nigeria, and the tribes of the central Cameroons have each their distinguishing characteristics. The use of masks is connected with initiation ceremonies and rites, in which performers who wear the masks are impersonating spirits of the dead. That the art of the wood carver is closely connected with religious symbolism may be seen by inspection of wooden figurines in the temple of the god of Thunder at Ibadan. Carved drums and stools are in some localities shrines for the reception of ancestral spirits during rites of ancestor worship. Wood-carving of Negroes should not be considered merely as a form of esthetic expression; on the contrary, the whole background of the social and religious life should be taken into account for the interpretation of styles and symbolic patterns.

Some domestic utensils show excellent workmanship, and among these are well-carved wooden spoons and food bowls. Wooden pillows are often beautifully carved, and, before the introduction of metal combs from Europe, wooden hair combs were delicately wrought. The Vachokwe of eastern Angola still produce wooden combs of great artistic merit. The Barotse and the Ovimbundu specialize in carving figures of animals in natural poses, but these have no magical significance.

Negro carvers have a trained eye for geometrical designs (Fig. 97, *a*), which include triangles and lozenges that are well arranged in adaptation to the form of the surface which has to be covered. The most intricate design is one formed like a figure eight with intersections, yet devoid of confusion and overlapping. This design may



FIG. 97. Wood-carving, Nigeria.

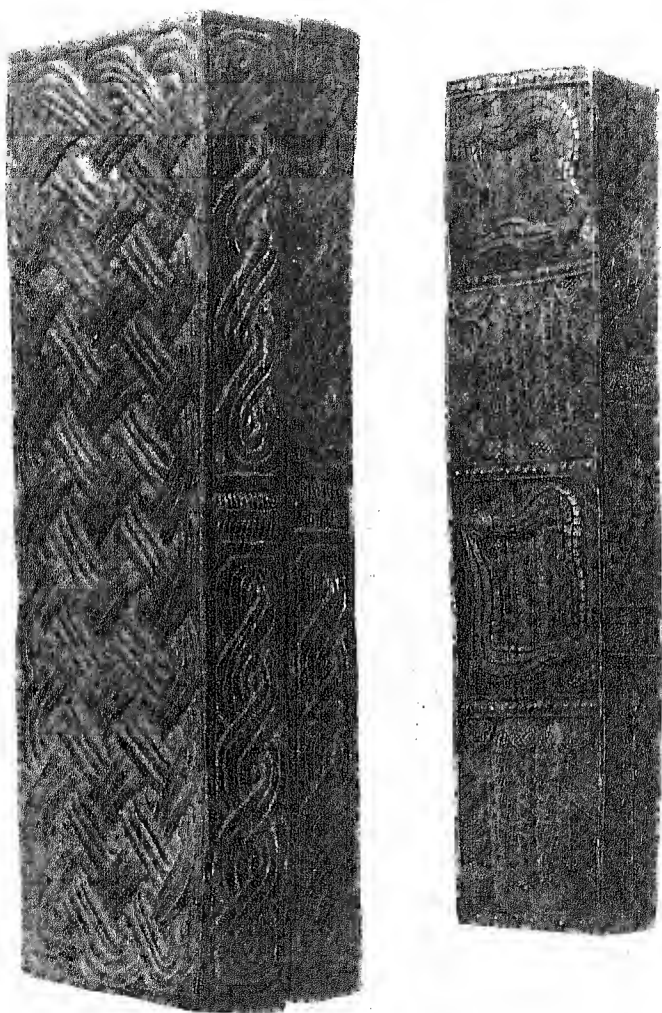


FIG. 98. Carved wooden boxes for kola nuts, Benin. Scale about 1:2.

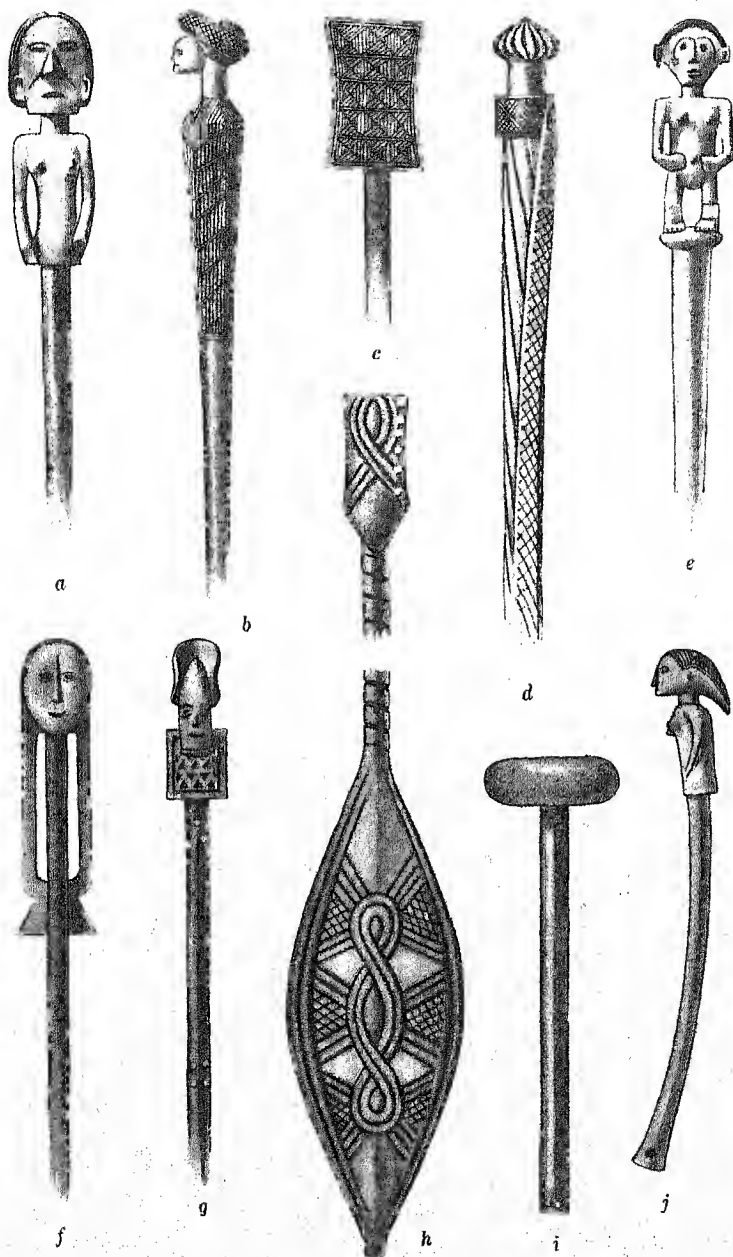


FIG. 99. Carved wooden staffs and clubs, Ovimbundu and Vachokwe, Angola.  
Scale about 1:10.

be seen on cups carved by the Bakuba, on the lids of boxes from Benin (Fig. 98), on the brasswork of Nigeria (Fig. 105) and on the appliqué leather work of Kano.

Decoration of gourds (Fig. 101), which are the hard outer cases of fruits like pumpkins, is a widely spread occupation of Negroes; the artisans are male or female according to locality. The tools generally used are a thin saw for dividing gourds and a long scraper for cleaning out the contents. A long-necked gourd, when divided symmetrically along its length, makes two ladles. Sometimes a hole is cut in the rounded portion of a gourd and the neck is used as a handle. Round gourds if cut in two make open dishes or basins. If a gourd splits, the crack is neatly repaired with rattan laced through holes.

The surface of the gourd may be left in a natural state, and the patterns cut with a pointed knife; or they may be burned with a hot wire. Techniques are of great variety. In southeast Africa, the decorative incisions are often filled with soft white clay in which colored beads are embedded; these are kept in position when the clay hardens. In Nigeria alone, at least six distinctive local styles may be observed. The Yoruba of Ogbomosho scrape the gourds and cut deeply incised, geometrical patterns on the surface, which is quite white. The Nupe of Bida stain the surfaces deeply with indigo, so that the incised patterns stand out boldly in white on a blue background. In Kano and Maiduguri a red stain is used; then the patterns are produced by scraping away portions of the red stain so as to show the original yellow or white color.

Wood-carving is entirely in the hands of males among Negro tribes, and specialization follows personal choice and natural aptitude. In Ashanti and at Bida in Nigeria, the making of stools is a highly specialized craft. Among the Ovimbundu, some wood-carvers make animals, others are expert as carvers of stools, and certain specialists make drums.

In building houses, specialization according to sex is followed; for example, among the Ovimbundu men cut the timbers, dig trenches for the insertion of upright poles, and assisted by boys cut coarse grass for the thatch. Women are responsible for making clay to plaster the walls, which men construct by fixing crosspieces of timber to the uprights by lashings of bark rope. All the water for puddling the clay is carried by women, but children of both sexes have the task of tramping the clay to make it plastic. Women carry clay to the male plasterers. The workers were amused with my suggestion that a change of tasks could take place; they said that if a man



FIG. 100. Wood-carving, Ovimbundu tribe, Angola.

carried water the people would laugh and call him a "he woman." Division of labor in tribal life does not imply inferiority of women, and amusement arises, not from contempt of a male who assists in a woman's work, but from a sense of incongruity. Men readily help women to drag their fishing baskets if the current is swift, but a youth (homosexual) who dresses as a girl and pounds corn with women is beaten and ridiculed.

That division of labor is not a disparagement of woman by giving her menial tasks, is indicated by the local differences in allocation of tasks to males and females respectively. Usually Negro women make pottery, and among the Ovimbundu the occupation is confined entirely to women; but among the Baganda, men make pottery, and a map prepared by H. Schurtz (1900, Plate I) shows that this occupation is followed by males in several parts of Uganda, and in Bornu to the west of Lake Chad. The distribution map indicates an area near Gambia and Senegal where both sexes are potters.

In some Negro tribes both men and women are weavers of cotton, and the task of spinning is given to males or females according to locality. Women of the Ovimbundu tribe make all the baskets, but only men make mats, and a general study of sex dichotomy in labor leaves the impression of arbitrary selection. Yet the division of labor may not be fortuitous, for H. von Baumann's research tended to show that division of labor in agriculture depended on the dominance of matriarchal or patriarchal conditions, and the inference is that sex division of labor may have a historical connection and logical linkage with types of social organization.

In connection with wood-carving, some of the principles of Negro art will be mentioned; these principles apply also to work in ivory and casting in bronze. But, despite the similarity of the esthetic principles involved, the different limitations due to the nature of the materials in which the artisan is working should be recognized. Knots and flaws in wood, bubbles in molten bronze, and cracks in ivory test the patience and skill of the worker. The same may be said of manufacturing large pots, since breakages result from the difficulty of applying heat uniformly to the entire surface at the same time. To prevent such an occurrence, the pots may be hardened inside by lighting small fires in them before the batch is fired in the kiln. Negroes have in many ways shown consummate skill in overcoming difficulties imposed by the nature of the material.

Only in recent years have Negro sculpture in wood, brasswork, and carving in ivory been appreciated in Europe and America, and



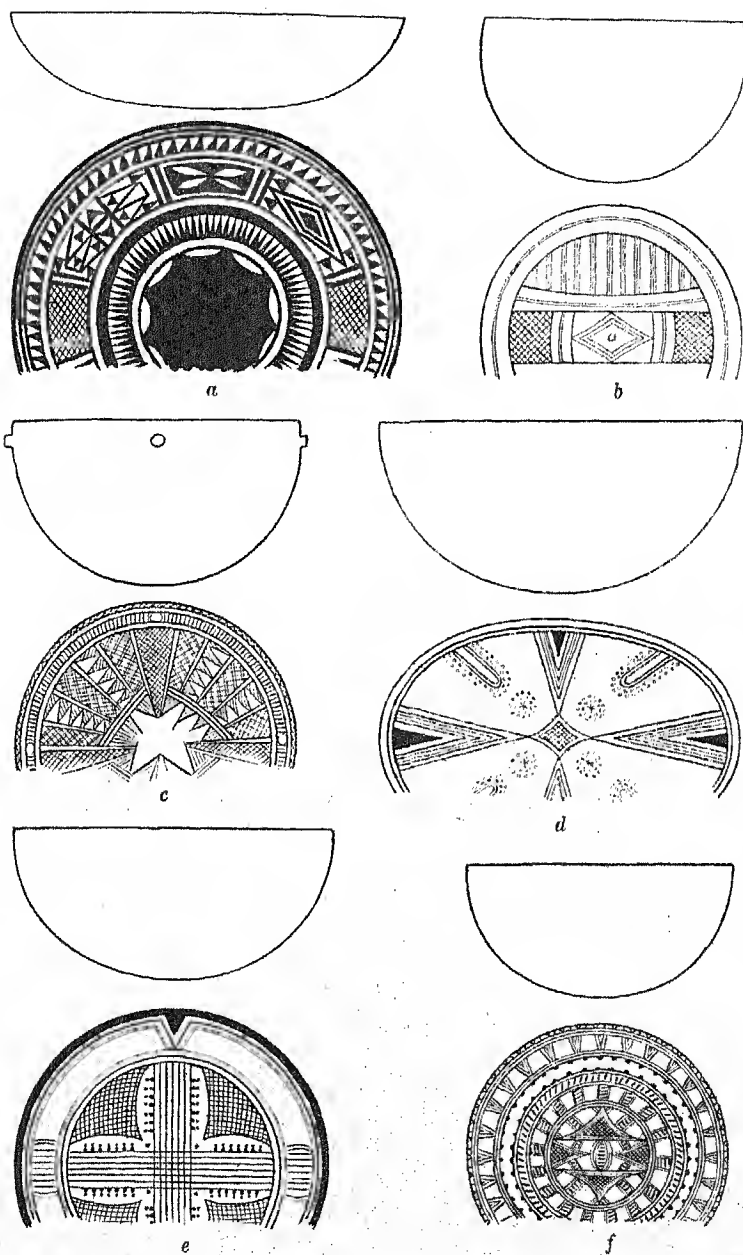


FIG. 101. Ornamented gourds, Nigeria. Scale about 1:7.

even now the recognition of merit is dependent on a consideration of the esthetic principles involved, while the impetus of social and religious forces is neglected. Art should never be considered in the abstract, but in relation to the cultural background which is fundamental to the art itself.

Negro art is an expression of soul and power. In this art there is a projection of a mental background which has brought the carving of masks and figurines to its present perfection. On first acquaintance with African art, the lack of natural proportions in the human figures is a hindrance to the perception of esthetic values; the mass is seldom divided so as to give natural proportions to head, body, and lower limbs.

But presently a student realizes that the peculiar merit of Negro carving arises from a conventionalized and deliberately planned treatment of line, plane, and mass according to the laws of balance and rhythm accepted by Negro craftsmen. But, in achieving an individual standard and a characteristic style, proportion and naturalism have been sacrificed. The art of Negroes has an urge and a number of fundamental concepts that an observer must learn to appreciate.

These comments can be illustrated by consideration of three concrete examples of Negro wood-carving (Fig. 102). Object *b* is the head of an ornamental club, which consists of a narrow oval mass of wood horizontally placed. This oval is too constricted to give a natural shape to the head, and an observer's first judgment is that the long axis of the oval should be in the same plane as the handle and not at right angles to it. But such a position would not have satisfied the artist's concept for carving the eyes and mouth; he felt that all the ovals must lie in the same direction.

Within the oval mass representing the head, a broad swelling plane at each side represents the cheeks, which are marked by pleasing curves giving a sense of balance. In order to conform in contour with the head, the eye-sockets are deep ovals whose major axis is parallel with the axis of the oval head. Within the eye-sockets, narrow oval eyes are carved. These are separated by a narrow nose, not a life-like nose, but one designed to avoid interference with the eye-sockets and the curves of the cheeks. The neck is too long to be natural, but this departure from proportion was necessary in order to raise the head above the shaft of the club, for a sculptured head too close to the shaft would have been ineffective and paltry.

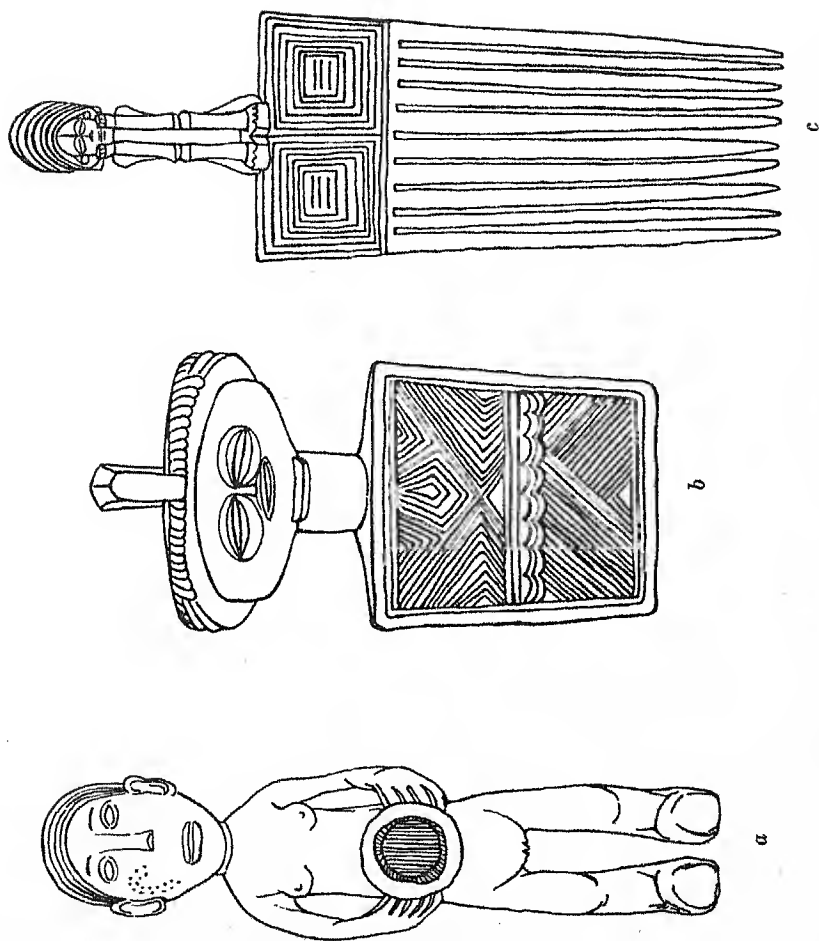


FIG. 102. Wood-carving, Angola. *a.* Medicine-man's figurine, Ovimbundu, Curna. *b.* Head of club, Vachokwe, Cangamba. *c.* Hair comb, Vachokwe, Mona Quimbundo. Scale about 1:2 (from sketch by Miss Lucile Ward).

The head is covered with carving representing the usual coiffure of the Vachokwe tribe. In imitating closely braided hair, the sculptor has adopted the pleasing effect of a large number of curves repeated at intervals, with symmetry. When carving this club, the artist conventionally divided the mass. He effectively employed planes for the cheeks, and lines served his purpose for details of hairdressing. Thus he intelligently used the three dimensions of mass, plane, and line to produce a preconceived effect, but the result is not one that conforms to the natural shapes and proportions of human features.

In the small figurine of a female (Fig. 102, *a*), the matrix has been divided into three almost equal parts. This was done to give prominence to the main feature, which is an abdominal cavity for holding magical substances, when the figurine is used in connection with an ancestral rite. Had the legs been of the right proportion, the abdomen would have been too high; the artist desired this part to be central. The knees were flexed to shorten the legs, and the importance of the cavity was emphasized by sculpturing one hand of the figurine on each side of the abdominal hole. The use of mass, plane, and line is such that the figure can be turned into various positions with pleasing results in the combination of curves and planes that give symmetry and balance.

A squatting human figure (Fig. 102, *c*) on the top of a hair comb has the trunk erect and the knees sharply bent. The elbows are flexed and the forearms are vertical, with the elbows resting on the knees and the fists under the chin. The head is disproportionately large. By flexing both the upper and the lower limbs to bring the shins and forearms into a straight line, then by enlargement of the head, the matrix is divided into three equal parts, namely, the head, the torso, and the lower limbs. The rigid limbs form a perfect rectangle, and, to conform with the outline of this, the sides of the head are straight lines.

*Use of Bark.*—Bark of trees is used for various purposes. The Ovimbundu strip cylinders of bark from trees, divide these pieces longitudinally, and so make trays for carrying objects. A small pig is transported in a tray of this kind by placing the animal's feet through holes in the tray and tying them underneath. Large receptacles for grain are made by rolling strips of bark and sewing the edges together; such vessels are used by the Vachokwe of eastern Angola. Artistic work in bark is a specialized craft among the Wasukuma and Washashi of Tanganyika Territory. Illustrations

prepared by P. Kollmann (1899) indicate that a high degree of artistry is attained.

Bark cloth is still made by some Negro tribes, though the manufacture is falling into desuetude owing to importation of foreign cloth. In eastern and central Angola, the Vachokwe and the Vangangella follow a typical technique. The workers strip the outer bark from a tree which is specially chosen for this purpose, and after removal the bark is soaked for several days. At the end of this time the inner

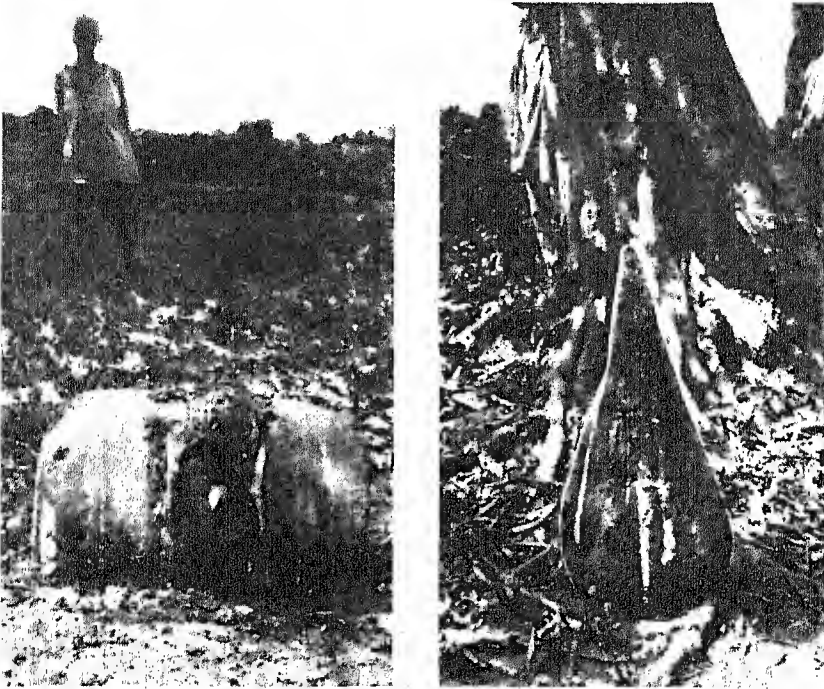


FIG. 103. Grove, Ifé, sacred to Ogun, patron of blacksmiths. Contains first hammer and anvil of Ogun. Remains of a sacrificed dog are on the anvil.

layer of bark is easily detached, and after this process has been completed the sheet is laid over a log and beaten with wooden mallets. In some areas from which bark cloth has disappeared from common use as clothing, it is still employed ceremonially for such purposes as wrapping a corpse or making masks and costumes for initiation ceremonies. Painting of bark cloth is not usual in Africa, but the art is known among the Ashanti of west Africa and the Baganda of the northeast (M. Anna, 1936, No. 1, pp. 12-14).

*Ironwork.*—The blacksmith's craft is the most widely distributed of the metal-working industries, and forging is important among all Negro and Hamiticized Negro tribes. The ritualistic aspect of the craft is sufficiently important to require separate description, together with data of like kind relating to other industries. Iron-



FIG. 104. Bronze-casting from Benin. Scale about 1:4.

work is discussed by W. Belck (1907, pp. 335-381), W. Gowland (1912, pp. 235-287), and F. von Luschan (1909, pp. 23-59). Partington and Portier (1935) have fully considered the occurrence and utilization in Africa of gold and silver (pp. 23-39), copper, bronze, and tin (pp. 65-79), and iron (pp. 97-100). For a valuable summary on metallurgy see Cline (1937, large bibliography).

Rival hypotheses place the origin of the craft in Asia, in Egypt, or among the Negroes themselves. Data given by W. Gowland emphasize the importance of iron-smelting in Asia and southern Europe, and in Egypt also, during periods predating European contacts with Negro Africa. When the European penetration of Negro Africa began in the early sixteenth century, Negroes were expert blacksmiths, and so far as chronological considerations are concerned they might well have obtained their technique from Asiatic or Egyptian sources. But iron ore is abundant in Africa near the surface, and Negroes have a natural aptitude for handicrafts; therefore, there is no convincing objection to the theory that Negroes are responsible for the invention of their craft, though certain new ideas relating to types of bellows and smelting furnaces may have been derived from Asia Minor or India. To assume that Hamitic incursions are responsible for introducing the blacksmith's craft into Africa seems unwarranted, since the pastoral Hamites as they are known today relegate handicrafts and agriculture to sections of their communities whose social status is considered to be inferior to that of herdsmen.

The practice of winning iron ore and smelting it in high furnaces in which alternate layers of ore and charcoal are placed is becoming rare among Negroes, who now collect European scrap iron and forge it in charcoal fires. Blacksmiths make their own tools, including hammers, tongs, files, cutters, borers, punches, and pincers. Anvils may be large flat stones or flat-topped, iron spikes driven in the ground. The most common form of bellows consists of two or four chambers hollowed from a large block of wood; the fore part of the block tapers to a nozzle which projects into a clay pipe that leads into the fire. Over the chambers coverings of hide are lashed, and to these, long straight sticks are attached. Air is pumped by working the sticks vigorously up and down.

Principal products of the forge are hoe blades, spearheads, arrowheads, ax blades, and in regions where horses are used bits, stirrups, and hobbles are manufactured. Blades of knives and swords are products of the forge, and European influence is sometimes seen in the manufacture of scissors, tweezers, and razors of jack-knife pattern. Some blacksmiths make iron wire by drawing strands of hot iron through holes in an iron plate, but this branch of the craft is not of general distribution. From an economic and industrial point of view, the blacksmith's craft is of fundamental

importance in Negro tribes. For distribution of types of bellows, see L. Frobenius' "Atlas Africanus."

*Metal-casting.*—Working with imported brass has two main divisions of technique, casting in molds and beating the metal into sheets. The casting process, which is known as *cire-perdue* or "lost-wax," was carried out with bronze at Benin when the Portuguese first arrived there at the end of the fifteenth century (Fig. 104). Both copper and tin are obtainable in Nigeria, and the alloy consisted of nine parts of copper to one part of tin. At the time of first European contact, the art had reached its zenith, but a decline of technique has gradually taken place.

At the present time, the Obba of Benin maintains in his courtyard a small industrial school. Here he endeavors to revive the ancient skill and pride which were formerly associated with carving in wood and ivory, and casting in bronze. Brass is now used for metal work, but the process is the ancient one of making the object first in wax. The wax model is embedded in a mass of clay, which is heated so that the wax runs out from a hole provided for that purpose. Molten brass is poured into the mold to take the place of the melted wax, and when the brass has solidified the mold is broken away. The object is then smoothed with a file (H. Balfour, 1910, pp. 525-528; L. W. G. Malcolm, 1923, No. 1).

In this manner bronze heads, staffs, bells, and masks were formerly manufactured for use in religious ceremonies that were performed about an altar in the Obba's compound. At the present day, only a few bronze heads remain on this altar. The famous carved ivory tusks were absent in 1930, but some have recently been replaced. In the year 1897, a British punitive expedition sacked Benin as a reprisal for the murder of British subjects. The treasures of bronze, wood, and ivory which now appear in museums and private collections were looted at that time (H. L. Roth, 1903; Marquart, 1913; Von Luschan 1916, 1919). Unfortunately, very little information was obtained respecting the uses and symbolism of the objects.

The geographical distribution of centers of casting, together with similarity of technique in different localities, suggests a process of diffusion rather than several independent inventions. The origin of the craft is unknown, but casting in bronze was practiced in Egypt more than three thousand years ago, and the technique of west African Negroes may well be a derivative from that of ancient Egypt (Petrie 1910, p. 101). Brass is still cast in Ashanti, Dahomey,



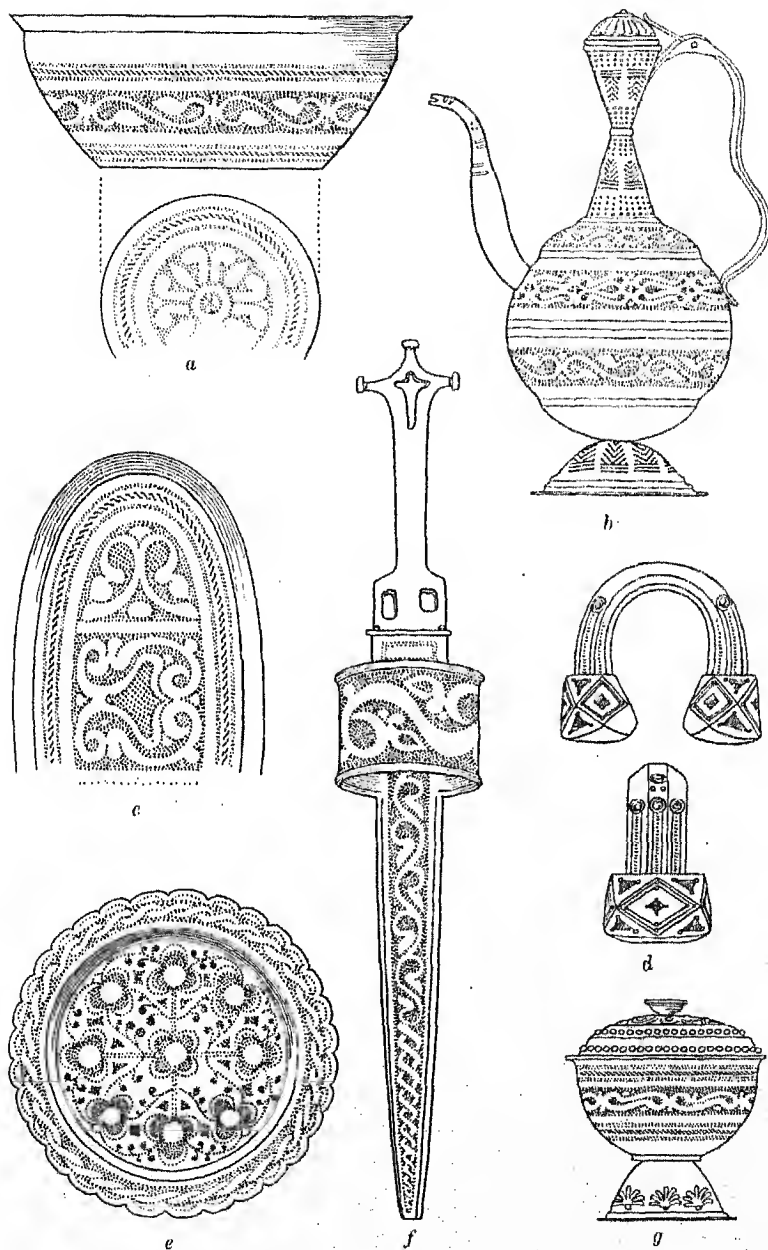


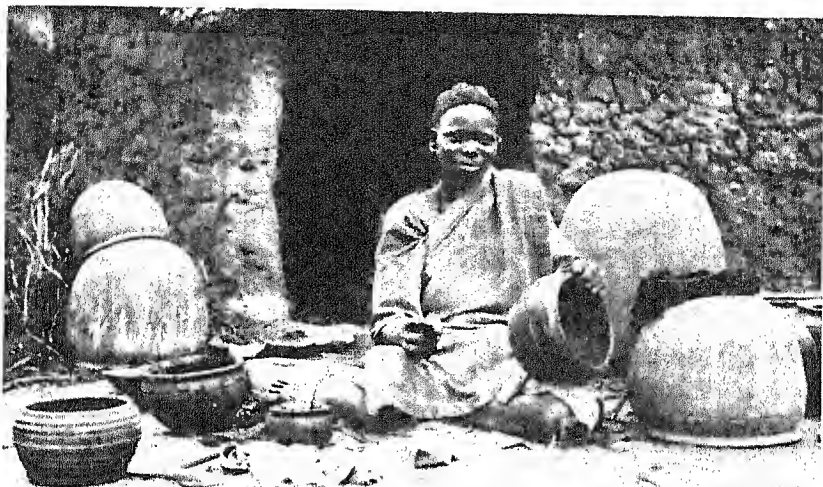
FIG. 105. Beaten brasswork, Nupe tribe, Bida. Scale about 1:5.

the Cameroons, and Nigeria. In former years, casters of bronze formed a special trade clique which worked only in the ruler's compound, where materials, personnel, and technique were under royal control. At the present day, casting in brass tends to be the preserve of particular clans. In Nigeria, the Bachama and the Bata, like the Bura of Bornu, make brass tobacco pipes and ornaments by the *cire-perdue* process, the industry being in the hands of the Killa clan (Meek, 1931b, vol. 1, p. 23).

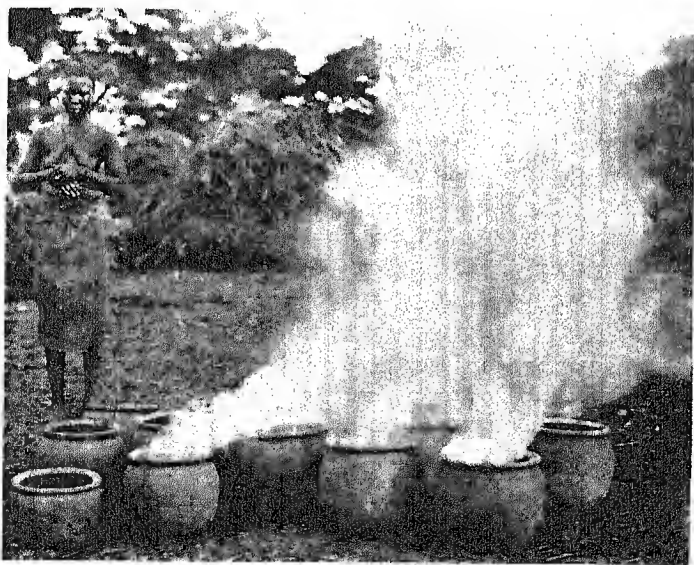
Two notable centers for beaten brasswork are Bida (Fig. 105), and Old Calabar in Nigeria. Workers at Bida beat out the cold metal rods into thin sheets, which are gradually pounded to the forms of bowls and trays. Some of the bowls are symmetrical octagons or hexagons, and trays two feet in diameter are made in this way. Complex geometrical patterns are punched on the surfaces. Certain objects show European influence, but scabbards for knives, bowls for holding kola nuts, and vessels for containing water for ablutions before prayer are of Negro provenance and technique.

*Silver.*—Working in silver is geographically restricted. The distribution and technique of the craft suggest that this trade migrated across the Sahara from north Africa, where in Algeria and Morocco the art has been developed for a long period. At Agades in the south-central Sahara, silver work is a specialized occupation, though the craft is sometimes combined with that of the blacksmith. Beaten silver work is made at Kano in northern Nigeria and among the Nupe of Bida in the southwest (J. W. Scott-Macfie, 1912, pp. 281-286). Craftsmen of Bida make silver sword scabbards and hilts for daggers. The finer work includes satchels for charms, and the chains for suspension are of excellent technique. Silver rings are cast by the *cire-perdue* process. At Kano, the beating of little silver bowls, finely chased, is a special aspect of the silversmith's art.

*Pottery.*—Making pottery is a staple occupation in Negro Africa, and great symmetry is obtained without the use of a potter's wheel. Frequently two women work together, one preparing sausage-like rolls of clay, while the other uses these to build up the pot in a basket. The clay is made more binding by adding to it pulverized fragments of an old pot. A pot is usually molded to shape by the hands of the potter, whose only tool is a piece of gourd with which she smoothes the wet pot inside and out. Some artisans polish the outer surface with a smooth pebble (Fig. 106, a). When making a large pot, the lower part of the vessel is allowed to dry before the middle and top sections are added; otherwise, the weight of the upper part would



*a*



*b*

FIG. 106. Making pottery, Ogbomosho, Nigeria. *a*. Polishing a pot with a pebble. *b*. Firing insides of pots.

cause the damp base to sag. Some workers use a slat of wood and a stone poulder with a hand-grip for shaping a pot. This method is followed in Kano, Nigeria (Fig. 107, *b*).

While the clay is damp, ornament may be added by pressing a rope round the pot, by rolling a grooved stick, by notching with a sharp sliver, or by running an ornamented metal bracelet round the moist clay. After the pots have been dried in the sun, they are baked in a kiln made from a heap of dry grass. In some regions, a vegetable or mineral varnish is applied while the pots are hot, so that a bright-colored surface is obtained. Jet-black pottery is sometimes produced by holding the vessels in smoke which permeates the pores. The insides of pots are fired to prevent cracking while in the kiln (Fig. 106, *b*).

*Glass.*—Glass is made at Bida in Nigeria and at another center in Ashanti not far away. The origin of the industry is unknown, but the few men who are employed at Bida belong to a family which has a monopoly of the glass industry by hereditary right. The artisans used to make their glass from silica, but now they melt European bottles, which are made into bangles and beads. A worker takes from the clay furnace a glowing mass of glass, which he manipulates at the ends of two long iron rods until the viscous glass is drawn out to the necessary thickness. White streaks are introduced into green or blue glass by laying on the molten mass thin wisps of white glass made by melting European beads. The product is a colored bangle flaked with white. (R. P. Wild, 1937.)

*Stone.*—Working in stone is not a common Negro industry, but at Ilorin some Yoruba workmen make excellent beads from cylinders of hard, polished stone about two inches long. The beads are drilled with an iron punch that is tapped with a small hammer while the worker holds the beads between his toes. The beads are rubbed smooth on a stone (Hambly 1935a, pp. 432, 437; F. Daniel, 1937, No. 2).

*Ivory.*—Working in ivory is becoming increasingly rare for reasons previously noted. In past centuries, the Bini of Benin produced the finest ivory-carving in Negro Africa, chiefly in the form of large ornamented tusks which were placed at each side of the Benin altar. In 1930 only two small tusks were in the artisan's shop at Benin. Under the direction of the Obba, an effort was being made to carve these in the traditional manner. A knife with a sharp point was the instrument used.

The Monbuttu of the northeast Congo region still produce carving in ivory. The statuettes with Negro motifs are of great merit, but much of the work, including napkin rings, spoons, crocodiles,

and elephants, is due to European demand. In all parts of Negro Africa, ivory bracelets and large anklets were used, but these are now rare owing to scarcity of ivory and introduction of European ornaments. Near the coasts of Nigeria, the Cameroons, and French Equatorial Africa, pen holders, cigarette holders, flower vases, and animals forms are carved in ivory for sale to foreigners calling at the ports. The fashioning of ivory, past and present, has been described by H. Lang (1918, pp. 527-552), and E. D. Moore (1931, pp. 649-655, 718-723) has shown the importance of the ivory and slave trade in the social and economic life of Negroes.

*Hides and Leather.*—Treatment of hides is an industry that needs a preliminary classification into two kinds of technique. On the one hand, there is the elaborate workmanship of centers such as Agades, Kano, Timbuktu, and areas inhabited by the Mandingo; here the products are carefully tanned, dyed with colors of indigenous make, and fashioned into a variety of articles, including bags and cushions of an ornamental kind. This industry of west Africa is probably a derivative from Morocco, and more remotely from Egypt. Saddles and other trappings for camels and horses are of advanced technique, and each center of manufacture has a distinctive style of cutting, and ornamenting by pasting, sewing, or plaiting. The use of dyes is distinctive of certain localities. This type of leather work has been described by A. van Gennep (1913), and Dupuis-Yakouba (1921).

On the other hand, and as a noticeable contrast to this elaborate work, there are widely distributed processes of treating hides, which are neither tanned nor dyed. Men of the Vakwanyama tribe of south Angola make belts and skirts for women. The hides are soaked and trodden under foot (Fig. 94, *a*) until they are pliable; then they are pleated, cut as skirts, and dressed with grease and red powder made by desiccating *takula* wood (Fig. 66, *a*). The hair is not removed from the hide. Unprepared hides, from which the fat has been scraped without any other operation, are used by many tribes and for a variety of purposes. Women of the Angas tribe, Nigeria, carry infants in hide bags on their backs. The Ovimbundu of Angola cover the tops of their wooden stools with hide. Zulu and Hottentot tribes make skin cloaks (*karosses*) from pelts of the lynx and the rock rabbit (*hyrax*). Many Negro tribes make leather shields, quivers, pouches, and membranes for drums, by a simple technique such as that described by Vaughan-Kirby (1918, No. 23).

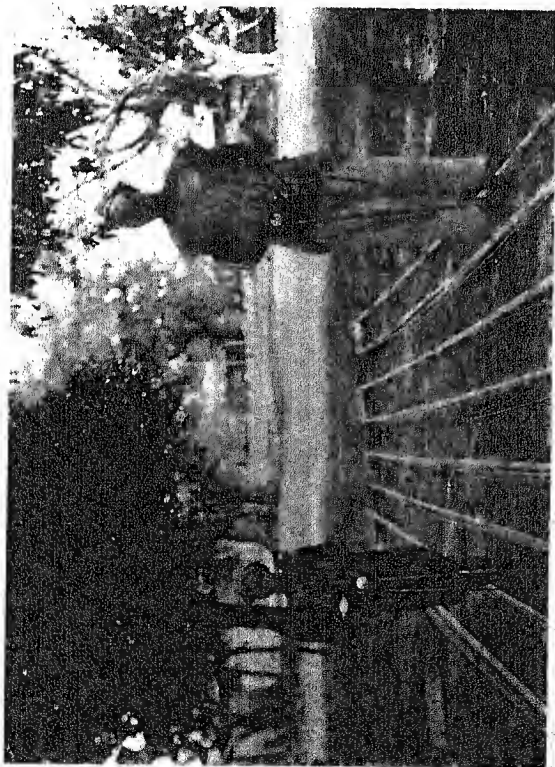
*Weaving.*—The history of the cotton shrub in Africa is uncertain, but for centuries certain Negroes have cultivated the plant, and

before the arrival of Europeans weaving on primitive looms had attained a high degree of proficiency. The types of African looms have been described in detail by H. Ling Roth (1917, pp. 113-150), who distinguishes seven main varieties. He provides a map showing the geographical distribution of each type and discusses the possibilities of their introduction from foreign sources, together with the likelihood of independent invention in Africa. The article is technical, with detailed descriptions of the parts of each type of loom, and an account of the methods of inweaving colored patterns. Ling Roth suggests the probability that the loom for weaving raffia mats (Fig. 108, b) is indigenous to the heart of Africa, and the vertical cotton loom may have been adopted from an ancient Egyptian prototype which spread over north Africa, then southward into west Africa.

In addition to the weaving of cotton, the spinning of cotton thread is an important industry even after looms have been abandoned, because the yarn is required for repair of imported cotton cloth. The employment of males or females according to local custom has previously been mentioned. In Nigeria, men use a horizontal loom for weaving cotton (Fig. 108, a) but women use an upright loom.

The dyeing of cotton yarn, especially by use of indigo which is contained in deep pits or in earthenware vats, is a typical industry from Sierra Leone to the Cameroons. Imported dyes for cotton yarn and basketry are recognizable by the crudity of their colors, which are a noticeable contrast to the soft shades of native products. Tie-dyeing of cloth occurs in west Africa, but the procedure is not general among Negroes. S. de la Rue (1930, p. 192) gives an account of the processes he saw in Liberia. Several dozen stones were tied in a piece of imported white shirting. Each stone was tied separately. White marks were left in the places which the dye could not touch because of the tight strings. Some of the finest weaving of wool is done in north Africa (Fig. 109), and compared with this, Negro work in cotton and raffia is extremely coarse.

Weaving in raffia fiber, which is made from the leaves of the raffia palm, is carried out in regions of west and central Africa. The photograph (Fig. 108, b) shows two men of the Cameroons working typical looms of the upright pattern. With this apparatus mats are made, and into these colored strands of raffia are worked to form geometrical patterns. The technique of this industry, which attains a high degree of specialization in the southwest Congo regions, has formed the subject of technical articles by T. A. Joyce (1925, pp. 105-110) and J. Maes (1930b, pp. 393-408).



a

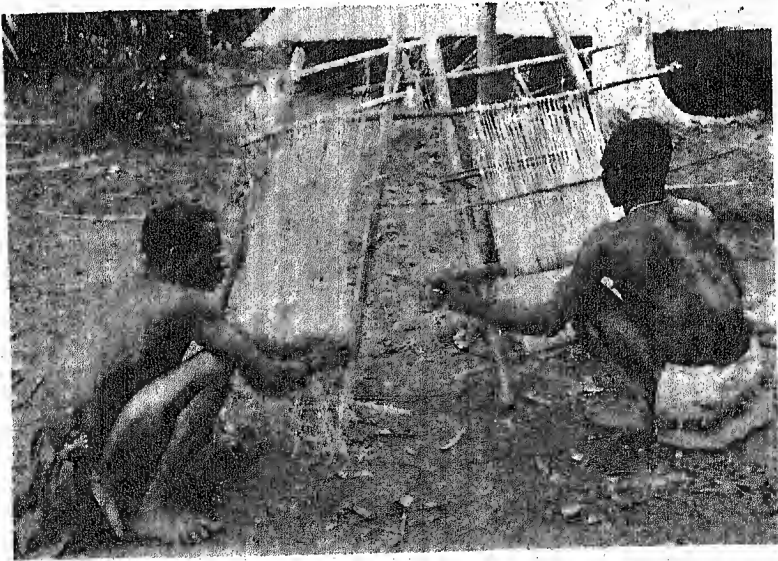


b

FIG. 107. a. Winding cotton, Iseyin, Nigeria. b. Making the base of a pot by pounding clay, Kano, Nigeria.



a



b

FIG. 108. Weaving by men. a. Weaving cotton, Kano, Nigeria. b. Weaving raffia fiber, Cameroons.



The plaiting of mats and baskets by hand from raffia and grass is a common occupation of Negroes, male or female, according to locality. Specialization is practiced in the manufacture of different types; among the Ovimbundu three kinds of mats are used, and mat makers, who are always males, specialize in one of the three varieties. Binding wisps of grass to make coils, and the fastening of these to form baskets was an Egyptian craft several thousand years ago.

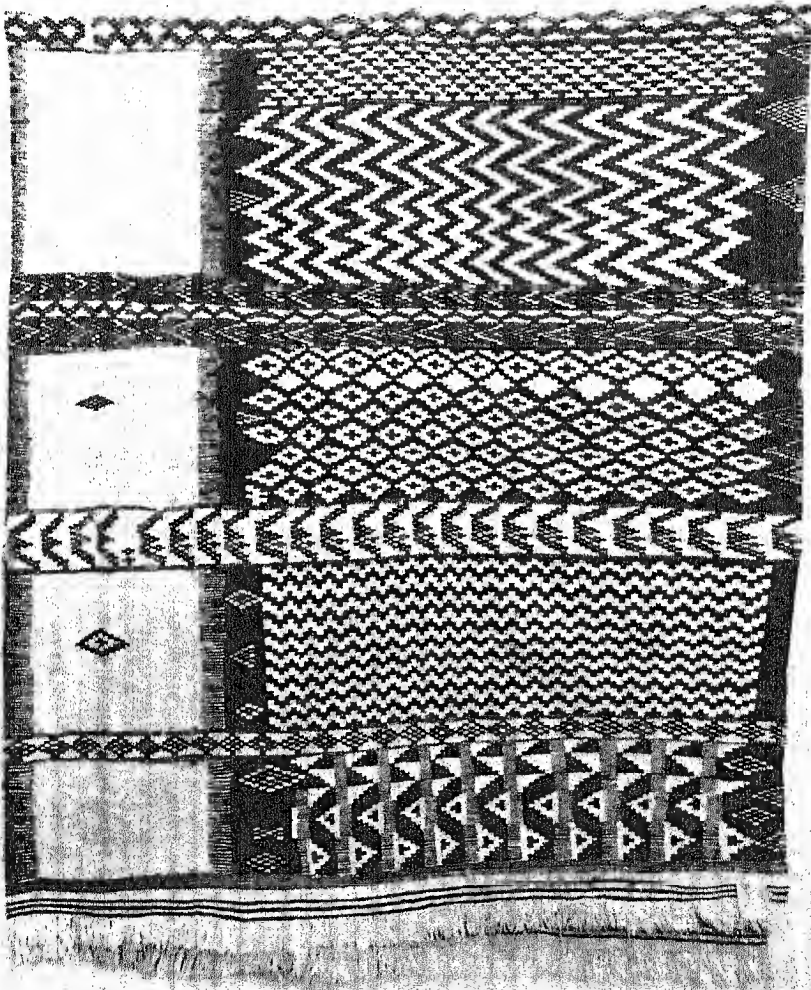


FIG. 109. Woven Kabyle rug (presented to Field Museum by Mr. Homer E. Sargent).

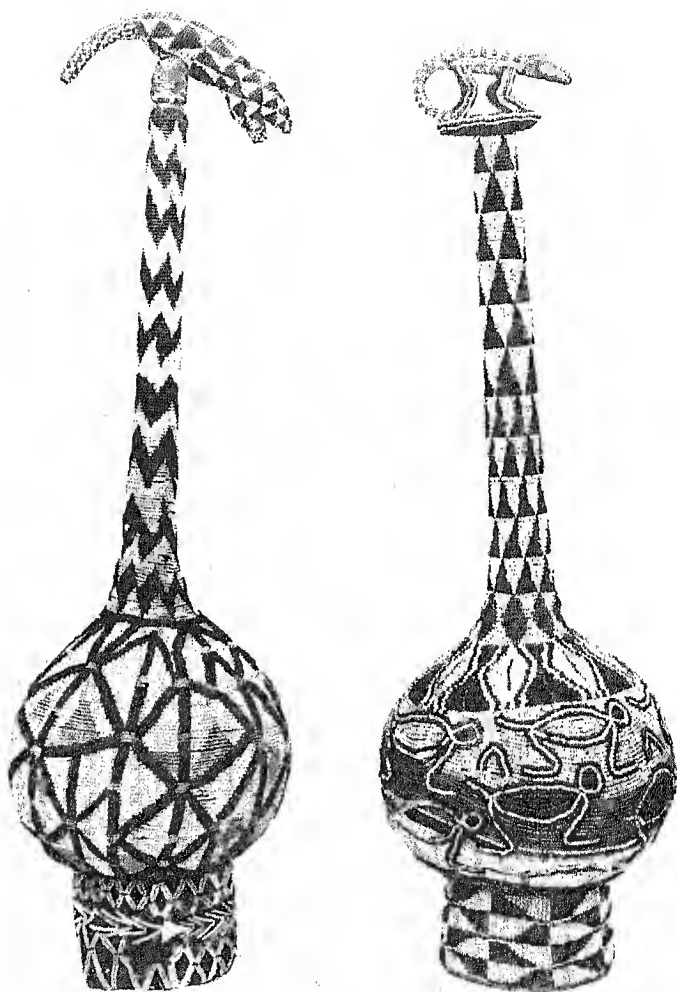


FIG. 110. Beaded gourds for holding palm wine. Scale about 1:5.



FIG. 111. Beaded wooden stool, central Cameroons. Scale about 1:5.

The Ovimbundu, in common with many Negro tribes, excel in making dyes for coloring the vegetable fiber used for weaving patterns into the baskets; the colors are amber, blue, red, and black. All the shades are soft and the colors do not fade when exposed to sunlight. The method of making these dyes consists of boiling the fiber in a solution of the color required; the pigments are extracted from indigenous, uncultivated plants. Black coloring is produced by soaking fiber in a particular kind of black mud. Variety in shade is secured by adding to the boiling pigment a quantity of mud in which an iron stain is found; this changes a bright red to a reddish brown.

*Bead Work.*—Skilled work with imported beads is characteristic of the central Cameroons, where beaded flasks, stools, and stems for tobacco pipes are made (Figs. 110, 111). For a description of aggrey beads see C. H. Read (1905), Cardinall (1924-25). Zulu tribes make girdles and headbands with inwoven colored beads.

Covering basketry closely with cowrie shells is an indigenous Negro occupation which reaches its highest development at Kano in northern Nigeria, and parts of Cameroons. Artisans cover baskets and platters with neatly sewn cowries placed so closely that the basket cannot be seen. In a few centers glass, stone, or eggshell beads are made by Negroes, but artisans rely chiefly on imported beads.

#### RITUAL AND OCCUPATION

Even among the Ovimbundu and other Negro tribes which have been in contact with Europeans for centuries, ritual and occupation are not yet divorced. The ceremony of inaugurating a young blacksmith among the Ovimbundu is typical of the rites which prevail among Negroes in connection with the ironworker's craft. While the master blacksmith is finishing the large hammer *onjundo*, which will be presented to the pupil together with other tools, the youth stands on an anvil. After the sacrificial animals have been slain and the tools sprinkled with their blood, the master says, "You may speak and tell us what name you want." Perhaps the novice will say, "I am Ndumbu," whereupon the spectators clap hands, make a trilling with their mouths, and shout the name Ndumbu as the boy steps from the anvil. This and other ritual acts connected with occupations of the Ovimbundu are reported by Hambly (1934a, pp. 157-167).

This instance of rites in connection with a blacksmith's work is typical of beliefs, ritual, and taboos associated with this craft in Negro and Hamiticized tribes; seldom is the ironworker's occupation

regarded as secular only. Reference to Fig. 103 illustrates the sacredness of the blacksmith's occupation at Ifé in Nigeria. There the grove sacred to Ogun, patron of the blacksmiths, may be seen today. A large stone, said to be the first hammer of Ogun, is prominent in the grove, and not far away is a stone anvil on which a sacrifice of a dog is made periodically. Blacksmiths of the Ibo of Nigeria form a union which resents any attempt to pry into the craft secrets.

Southwest of Lake Bangweolo a small shrine is erected near the smelting furnace, where a prayer is offered to the spirits of former smelters before the work of smelting is begun (H. B. Barnes, 1926, p. 191). The Ba-ila have a principal blacksmith named the "iron doctor," who conducts ceremonies connected with digging iron ore and smelting it. Secrets of the craft, which is hereditary from father to son, are handed down in families (Smith and Dale, 1920, vol. 1, p. 102). Torday and Joyce (1905, p. 406) say that blacksmiths of the Bambala have a T-shaped hammer with a pointed handle. "It is practically impossible to obtain a specimen of these hammers, since death is the portion of a smith who parts with his tools." The Masai and other Hamiticized pastoral tribes declare that blacksmiths are unlucky with cattle and must not keep them; therefore, workers in iron, though not necessarily despised, form a separate caste, with their own rites, occupations, and, in some instances, language (G. W. B. Huntingford, 1931, No. 262; W. Cline, 1937, pp. 114-128).

Among the Ovimbundu, traces of ritual other than that pertaining to blacksmiths still remain, and in the majority of tribes there are similar acts that may be vestigial rites of ceremonies that were formerly more complex. The researches of R. S. Rattray indicate that, in Ashanti, ritual associated with handicrafts is particularly well preserved (Rattray, 1923, pp. 215-315).

In former days, Ashanti craftsmen, including metal workers, weavers, potters, and wood-carvers settled near Kumasi to work for the king, and the idea of trades guilds was developed. A blacksmith's forge was consecrated by killing a fowl and allowing the blood to drip on the forge. In Ashanti, eggs, which are symbols of fertility, are often used in making sacrifices. The breaking of eggs against a forge and rubbing the bellows with broken eggs are typical of many similar rites. Sometimes the bellows of a blacksmith are used as a shrine on which the wife of a blacksmith has to swear her innocence if accused of adultery.

Bark cloth is still of ceremonial importance. At the *odwira* ceremony for invoking aid from the spirits of dead kings, the reigning

king discards his robes and attires himself in bark cloth. Bark cloth is used as shrouds for the royal dead.

Weaving cotton is confined to Ashanti males, but women who have reached the menopause plant cotton seeds, pick the cotton, remove the seeds (ginning), and spin the thread in preparation for weaving. Women are debarred from weaving because of their menstrual periods, and a menstruating woman must not touch a loom or speak directly to her husband if he is a weaver. A weaver's sons generally become weavers, and a hereditary right to certain patterns is handed down in families. In olden times, the king held the copyright of all new designs, some of which he reserved for his own use, while the use of other patterns was granted to court officials. Plain cloth is sometimes stamped with wooden blocks that have been dipped in dye prepared from bark boiled with iron slag, and the designs have names with historical, allegorical, and magical significance. Facts bearing on weaving show the development of a specialized industry with advanced technique, whose success depends on division of labor according to sex, hereditary rights, and the observance of rites and prohibitions.

Wood-carving is closely associated with religious belief in Ashanti because of the sacred nature of the products which are used as symbols and shrines. Ancestral stools which now function in rites of ancestor worship are the most important product of the wood-carver, while figurines representing sacred persons, drums, and umbrellas have more than a secular function because of their association with religious rites. Before wood can be used for making a sacred object, the tree which is to be felled receives a sacrifice of eggs or a fowl, in order to propitiate the spirit within the wood. Wine and blood are poured over tools so that they will cut well, yet without danger to the artisan. Unfaithfulness of a wife will cause her husband to cut himself. Many objects made by wood-carvers are evidently tangible links between the sacred and the secular.

In connection with the potter's art in Ashanti, many beliefs and prohibitions exist. Making pots is a hereditary craft which is handed from mother to daughter, but men fashion bowls for their tobacco pipes, also certain forms of pottery that a woman must not make lest she become barren. A lucky girl is chosen to ignite the fire for baking the pots, and the pots must not be counted before baking. To break a pot intentionally is a serious offence which is expiated by sacrifice of a sheep. Taffo near Santan River is a center for pottery, but clay must not be taken from the river on Friday. Sacrifice has

to be offered at the Santan River as an annual ceremony, and as a special rite if baking is resulting in the fracture of pots. The sacrifices consist of fowls and palm oil, offered to the spirit of the river, to whom a petition for success in making pottery is addressed.

The most impressive fact in connection with every phase of economic life, whether hunting, agriculture, fishing, rearing cattle, or proficiency in handicraft, is the spiritual attitude of the workers. Training and skill are not disdained; on the contrary, both are fostered by selection according to natural ability, hereditary right, and the formation of guilds. Fundamental factors in the division of labor are age, sex, and specialization within each trade. All these social factors constitute the secular requirements necessary for industrial efficiency. But more important are spiritual requirements, which give an urge and a guarantee of success.

Religion and magic are the vitalizing principles of economic life; therefore, industrial competence is thought to depend on the preservation of beliefs, ritual observances, and prohibitions. Foremost among the spiritual aids to successful labor are rites of ancestor worship on which fruitful agriculture depends, while successful hunting is likewise dependent on magical observances or definite acts of ancestor worship. But, in addition to these major observances which assure a supply of food, achievement in industry depends on numerous minor rites and taboos without which an artisan feels that his skill will be void.

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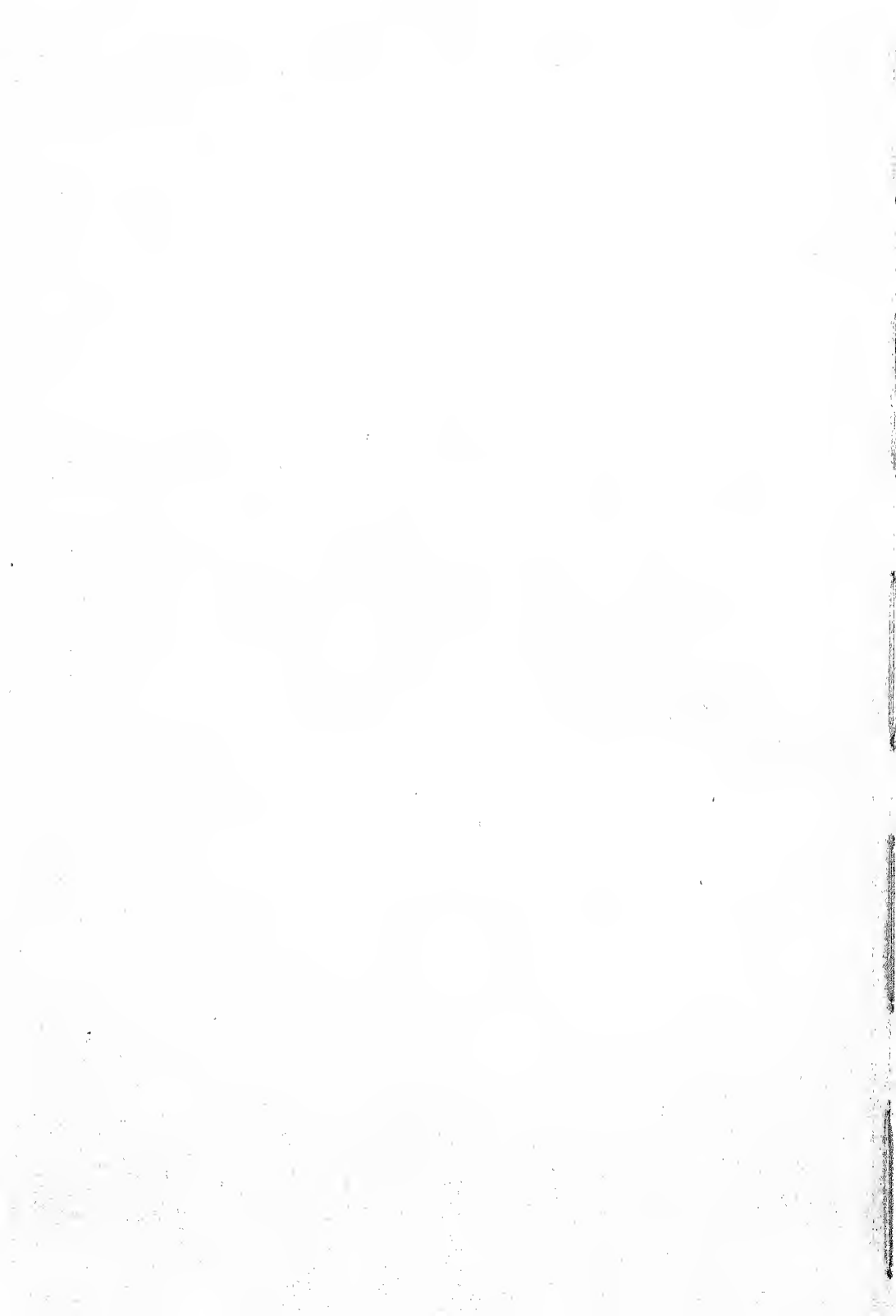
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#### SECTION IV. THE EUROPEAN PERIOD



## I. EXPLORATION

### MARITIME ENTERPRISE

Exploration of the coast and interior regions of Africa by geographers, adventurers, traders, and missionaries provides a logical introduction to a review of the political, commercial and social problems of the present day.

In exploration, as in literature and art, the achievements of one genius have stimulated the ambition of others; consequently, progress has been marked by periodical activity, with intervals in which no advance was made except the addition of details by those who followed the steps of a first pioneer. Therefore, the natural tendency has been to emphasize the importance of a few names of distinction, while ignoring the efforts of many who consolidated the initial enterprise.

But to rectify these omissions by attempting a detailed account of the opening up of Africa would result only in a colorless list of names and dates, and space will permit no more than an outline that provides a basis for discussing the problems which have resulted from the partitioning of Africa among European powers. Details of exploration may be filled in by consulting Keane (1907) and Featherman (1885) for the period A.D. 1600-1880. Two useful introductory textbooks on the opening up of Africa are by H. H. Johnston (1899, 1911). Current exploration is reported in the periodicals listed in the Bibliography of Periodicals under the following abbreviations: BSGI, BSNG, GJ, GR, L'AF, LG, NGM, PM, UE.

The first achievement in a long but interrupted period of maritime enterprise is that mentioned by Herodotus (IV, 42), who gives an account of the circumnavigation of Africa by Phoenicians sent out by Necho, king of Egypt, about 600 B.C. The voyage occupied three years, during which the navigators sailed round Africa from the Red Sea to the Pillars of Hercules, now the Strait of Gibraltar. In modern times, there is a difficulty in appreciating the courage which was necessary for early maritime enterprise. Navigators of the fifteenth century feared that the edge of the world might be reached, while imagination, unrestrained by scientific knowledge, pictured cyclopean giants, strange monsters of land and sea, and the wrath of a deity who might punish an impious curiosity.

To Herodotus (500 B.C.), historians are indebted for a description of the silent trade of the Carthaginians on the northwest coast of

Africa. Merchants from Carthage set their merchandise ashore. Then they retired to their ships and made a great smoke, while the inhabitants deposited gold and withdrew to a distance. If the quantity of gold was sufficient payment for the goods, the Carthaginians accepted it and sailed away, possibly without a glimpse of their customers; but if dissatisfied with the gold tendered, the Carthaginians returned to their vessels and awaited a further offer. Neither party wronged the other, and long after the Phoenician city of Carthage had been sacked by Rome this silent trade continued between Spaniards and Africans, even into the fifteenth century (Grierson, 1903; Bovill, 1929).

From Carthage sailed Hanno, whose voyage to the Island of Gorillas (or chimpanzees), about the year 500 B.C. is one of the classical exploits of early discovery. Hanno's Mountain of Cave Dwellers may be the Atlas Range, the River of Crocodiles and Hippopotamuses is possibly the Senegal, and the "high green headland" is likely to have been Cape Verde. The island of Sherbro near the coast of Sierra Leone might be Hanno's "island of hairy men." But none of the attempts to reconcile the geography of Hanno's narrative with the present coast-line have been successful (Palmer, 1931; Bovill, 1933a, p. 15).

The Nilotic explorations of centurions sent by Nero about 60 A.D., and the Saharan journey of Julius Maternus about eighty years later have previously been mentioned in connection with the history of the Roman Empire in north Africa.

The most important document relating to early exploration of the Indian Ocean (Erythrean Sea) is the *Periplus*. Copies of this manuscript in London and Heidelberg do not enable historians to determine either the exact date or the authorship of the record. But the descriptions of trade along the east coast of Africa, and with India, indicate that the writer was an Egyptian merchant of Greek extraction, who was personally engaged in commerce. W. H. Schoff (1912) finds that the document was prepared probably about A.D. 60. An important contribution of the *Periplus* to geographical knowledge is a proof of the extension of Africa and India far to the south of points that had been previously considered as the southern limits of land.

A map prepared by Strabo in the eighteenth year of our era shows an inaccurate outline of Europe, a small portion of north Africa marked Libya, the Arabian peninsula, and a rectangle of land for Asia. Twenty-five years later Mela gave a rough outline of a

mass of land in the southern hemisphere, as if he guessed at the southern extension of Africa and the presence of Australia. This southern land was later mapped by Ptolemy, a Greek, who lived in Alexandria about A.D. 150. A complete survey of early cartography has been made by De la Roncière (1925), who reproduces many maps from the time of Ptolemy to A.D. 1600. Bovill's "Caravans of the Old Sahara" also includes prints of several old maps, and a summary of explorations.

Following a period of speculative geography, a remarkable era of navigation and interior exploration was begun by the Portuguese. Under the direction of Prince Henry the Navigator (1394-1460), a school for mariners and cartographers was founded near Cape Saint Vincent. With the aid of Genoese shipbuilders and men trained in the school of Prince Henry, tentative explorations of the northwest coast of Africa began.

In 1419 the Portuguese discovered the Madeira Islands, which are still a Portuguese possession, and there they introduced the vine. Exploration in the Gulf of Guinea resulted in Portuguese occupation of the islands of Fernando Po, São Thomé, and Príncipe. A fort was built at Elmina on the Gold Coast, but later this was taken by the Dutch, who settled on the coast of Dahomey, Nigeria, and the Cameroons. In 1460 a Portuguese captain reached the Cape Verde Islands, and another navigator of the same school entered the mouth of the River Gambia.

The year 1487, five years before the discovery of America, is an important date in the history of Portuguese navigation. In this year Bartholomew Diaz sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, but contrary winds and a threatened mutiny of his crew deprived him of the success that a few years later rewarded the intrepidity of Vasco da Gama.

After sailing round the southern extremity of south Africa, Vasco da Gama touched Malindi on the east coast, where he found an Arab navigator who piloted his vessel to India in twenty-three days; but three months were spent in tacking back to Africa against contrary winds. This voyage led to the founding of Portuguese settlements on the west and east coasts of Africa, the opening of a sea route from Europe to India, and a consequent decline of the overland trade from Europe to Asia. J. de Barros (1496-1570) was the first great Portuguese historian. He had practical experience in west Africa and India, and in addition to this he was a careful compiler of historical and geographical records which bear on the

activities of Arabs and Portuguese. The first volume of his "Asia" was published in the year 1522; the last volume appeared in 1615, posthumously.

The name of Diogo Cão (1482) is associated with exploration along the lower Congo, formerly known as the Zaire. He sailed up the river to the Falls of Yelala and there left on the rocks inscriptions that remain to this day. The sculptured record includes the royal arms of Portugal, the Christian symbol of the Cross, and a list of members of the expedition, some of whom are known to have sailed later with Vasco da Gama. Eleven years later, Diogo Cão ascended the Congo and founded the town of San Salvador. This settlement became a center of missionary enterprise and political intrigue, both of which deeply affected the course of events among powerful Negro confederacies of the region.

Gradually the Portuguese established themselves on the coast of Angola (Portuguese West Africa). A small part of Angola is situated north of the Congo estuary, but this is unimportant compared with the large portion of Angola south of the river. From 1576 onward the maritime towns of Loanda, Benguela, and Mossamedes were founded, providing bases from which military and commercial expeditions penetrated the interior.

The Portuguese made a contribution to the culture of Africa by introducing maize, manioc, groundnuts, and possibly sweet potatoes, from South America. Angolan tribes, especially the Bihéans, were encouraged to conduct caravans into the far interior in search of ivory and slaves, two items of merchandise that have colored the history of Africa. From the eastern side of the continent, the Portuguese were equally active, for they wished to gratify the ambition of connecting their west and east coast possessions by a chain of military and trading centers.

Colonial expansion of the Portuguese is attributable, not only to enterprising explorers and traders, but also to Jesuit missionaries, who made converts of powerful African chiefs. These chiefs then exerted their influence in favor of the Portuguese. As early as 1491, Diogo Cão brought missionaries to the Congo, and an important evangelizing center was founded at San Salvador. The writings of A. Cavazzi (1687) and J. Merolla (see A. and J. Churchill 1704, vol. 1) contain material of historical and ethnological importance. Torday (1928b) has collated historical evidence to show the widely spread political and cultural influence of the Kingdom of the Congo.

On the east side of Africa, Portuguese Jesuit missions, together with military and commercial enterprise, attempted exploration of the Zambezi basin. Two important Portuguese centers were founded at Tete and Zumbo, but an attempt at Christianizing the powerful kingdom of Monomotapa was unsuccessful.

Near Massawa, which is now in the Italian territory of Eritrea, the Portuguese penetrated Abyssinia, where they exerted a strong religious and military influence during the sixteenth century (Alvarez, 1881). The Portuguese were successful in aiding the Abyssinians to preserve their Coptic Christianity against Mohammedan aggression (Ray, 1928).

One of the most absorbing narratives of missionary travel in Africa is that of Father Lobo (1622), who, with great danger and privation, traveled extensively in Abyssinia. Still more remarkable is the romance of Andrew Battell, who was associated with both the Portuguese and the native tribes of north Angola about the year 1600. Battell, who was a sailor of the little town of Leigh in Essex, England, was wrecked on the coast of Brazil and seized by Indians, who delivered him to the Portuguese at Rio de Janeiro. From this town, which was engaged in the slave trade with Angola, Battell was deported, and finally he found himself with a warlike tribe named the Jagas of north Angola, whom he was obliged to accompany on their depredations.

For a period of eighteen years Battell gathered information in several parts of Angola and the lower Congo. This knowledge he communicated to the Reverend Samuel Purchase after returning to England. Time has proved the reliability of Battell's observations, and in "Strange Adventures of A. Battell" (Hakluyt Society, vol. 6, 1900), ethnologists have a valuable anthropological source book.

The preceding paragraph shows that without the interest of the recorder, Samuel Purchase, the story of Battell might have died with him, and a further instance of the enduring ethnological work of a man who did not cross his own national boundary is to be seen in "An Accurate Description of Africa," by O. Dapper (1668). Dapper showed a critical faculty in his analysis of the reports of many travelers. His scientific acumen winnowed the grain from the chaff, with the result that certain aspects of Negro religion and social structure were clearly interpreted.

In the following summary of facts relating to the exploration of Africa, confusion can be avoided by noting that attempts to open

up the continent were concentrated on exploration of the rivers Niger, Nile, Congo, and Zambezi. Therefore, the pioneer attempts will be grouped about these rivers as focal points in the history of discovery.

In addition to the works quoted, the following are important: R. Brown has summarized the exploration of Africa in four volumes. Hakluyt's "Principal Navigations" in eight volumes, and the works of Gollock (1928), are valuable sources. Hirth (1909), in considering early Chinese references to east Africa, has touched a field that is not well explored. J. Pinkerton's seventeen volumes form a compendium containing accounts of voyages of Portuguese and other early explorers. The translations of A. and J. Churchill and of J. Pinkerton are particularly useful, since the originals are expensive and difficult to obtain.

#### THE SAHARA AND THE NIGER

In north and west Africa, exploration was for several centuries concentrated on the course of the River Niger, whose termination had been a source of controversy since 500 B.C. The river had been said to flow across the continent to join the Nile, and a later rival theory stated that the Niger was a tributary of the Congo. The solution of this mystery was in the minds of all who approached the problem, no matter whether they entered the River Gambia on the extreme west of Africa to follow the Niger from its source, or crossed the Sahara Desert to the bend of the Niger, where Timbuktu is situated. In the twelfth century, Idrisi declared that the Niger flowed west, for he had confused the Niger with the Senegal, as the Portuguese did three hundred years later. This error was perpetuated by Leo Africanus, whose faulty account was widely accepted even at the end of the eighteenth century.

From the time of Leo Africanus in the sixteenth century, exploration of the Sahara made no progress until a revival of interest began in the early nineteenth century. A pioneer of the new movement was Hornemann, who was sent from Tripoli by the British African Association (1799); but he, like Major A. G. Laing, who crossed from north Africa to Timbuktu in 1825, was murdered in the desert. Contrary to popular belief, Major Laing was not the first European to enter Timbuktu. It was visited by a Florentine named Benedetto Dei in the year 1470, and possibly an earlier visitor was Anselm d'Isalguier of Toulouse, who spent eight years in Gao (1402). The observations of these early European explorers have been discussed by M. C. de la Roncière (1925, vol. 3, pp. 1-6).



Réné Caillié (1830) entered west Africa, journeyed to Timbuktu, and crossed the Sahara to Morocco. Caillié relates that he was educated at a charity school in France, where he was made to learn a trade which yielded small interest compared with his study of books of travel. He says, "The history of Robinson Crusoe in particular inflamed my young imagination, and I was impatient to encounter adventures. At last came the start, and all that I possessed was sixty francs, with which trifle I proceeded to Rochefort in 1816 and embarked in the brig *Loire*, bound to Senegal."

From Tripoli (1821), Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney crossed the Sahara between Murzuk and Bornu on the line 15° E. Long., which was a route leading through the salt-producing oasis where Bilma is situated, to Kuka on the west shore of Lake Chad. Denham explored this region and encountered many adventures as a result of the constant warfare between native rulers. Clapperton visited Sokoto in northwest Nigeria, an excursion that cost the life of Oudney, while Ensign Toole, who had remained with Denham, succumbed to fever. The diaries of the expedition contributed to historical, geographical, and ethnological facts concerning the Hausa state of Sokoto, the Bornu sultanate, and the desert route through Bilma and Tibesti (Denham, Clapperton, Oudney, 1828; Rodd, 1936).

To these Saharan enterprises belongs the well-equipped and successful expedition of H. Barth (1857-59), who was accompanied by Richardson and Overweg. Preliminary explorations of Ritchie and Lyon (1821), and Richardson, the companion of Barth, had aroused European interest in desert travel. Political and scientific motives were responsible for Barth's journey from Tripoli southward through Murzuk, from which point he and his companions crossed the desert to Air. There they stayed in the ancient city of Agades, of which little was known in Europe. The desert was crossed after the explorers had been robbed and had barely escaped with their lives; but disease proved the greatest enemy, for only Barth returned to Europe, after five years of uninterrupted exploration in the period 1850-55.

During this time Barth's command of Arabic and Hausa, combined with his assiduous recording of observations, resulted in the publication of five volumes entitled "Travels and Discoveries in North and Central Africa." His researches were linguistic, ethnological, botanical, and zoological. At Kuka, Barth met Vogel, who had been sent from Europe in charge of a relief expedition. But

Vogel himself died, and his assistant Corporal McGuire was murdered at Bilma.

F. G. Rohlfs (1875, 1881) was prepared for arduous desert journeys, which took him across the Sahara and later into Libya, by service in the French Foreign Legion, in which he enlisted in 1855. He was the second European to reach Tafillet, where he was robbed, but though abandoned as dead he revived and reached Algiers. In 1865 Rohlfs left Tripoli and journeyed through Ghadames and Murzuk to Bornu, the southern terminus of the trans-Saharan route from Tripoli. He passed through eastern Nigeria, reached the Benue, a tributary of the Niger, and followed that affluent to its junction with the main river. After ascending the Niger to Rabba, he journeyed through Ilorin to Lagos on the coast. About this time, H. Duveyrier (1864) was exploring the northern Sahara, between the Hoggar Mountains and the Fezzan, in Tripolitania.

In 1869 Gustav Nachtigal (1879) set out from Tripoli, visited Tibesti and Borku, and continued southward to Baghirmi, at the south of Lake Chad. He turned east, and after crossing the unexplored regions of Wadai and Kordofan reached Khartum in 1874. For political reasons, Nachtigal crossed the Sahara a second time to undertake a mission that resulted in the addition of Togoland and the Cameroons to the German Empire. But he did not live to realize his achievement, for death claimed him on the homeward voyage. Miss Tinné, who accompanied Nachtigal as far as Murzuk in Tripoli, continued her journey independently but was murdered in the desert.

Oscar Lenz (1878, 1884) traveled through the far western Sahara. The route chosen is of exceptional interest, and the achievement is of outstanding merit, because in recent times and perhaps even today the region is dangerous on account of banditry in the Spanish territory of Rio de Oro and in the French possession of Mauretania. Oscar Lenz reached Timbuktu, and his notes, though of a general nature, are the best we possess for the region through which he passed.

The name of Edwin von Bary is associated with exploration of the Sahara in the period 1870-80. But his route from north Africa to Air followed too closely the trail of Barth to give the distinction which the hardships merited. In common with Mungo Park, Von Bary was deprived of all his possessions, and, like Clapperton at Sokoto, Von Bary died under mysterious circumstances that suggest poisoning.

In the year 1881 Colonel Flatters and Captain Masson were killed by Tuareg, but their companion Dianous escaped. The murder was not avenged until twenty years later, when Lieutenant Cottenest defeated the Tuareg of the Hoggar Mountains, with heavy losses to the enemy and only light casualties to his own force.

The life of Charles de Foucauld (Bazin, 1923), gay liver, army officer, religious hermit, linguist, and ethnologist, is one of the most colorful lives in the history of African exploration. Early in his career De Foucauld (1888) was a cavalry officer, but he abandoned army routine for a life of exploration in Morocco in the disguise of a Jew (1883-84) and later entered the monastery of Beni Abbas to become a Trappist monk. Subsequently, he became a friend of the Tuareg of Hoggar, where he built a hermitage. In 1916 he was murdered, not by the Tuareg among whom he lived and whose language he studied so thoroughly, but by a band of Senussi from the Fezzan.

A notable achievement of France in founding her north and west African dominion was the Foureau-Lamy expedition of 1899, which consisted of three sections converging on Lake Chad from the north, west, and south. The western column under command of Captain Voulet and Lieutenant Chanoine was almost disbanded, owing to mutiny among the personnel. The Saharan or northern section crossed to Air, where opposition was encountered, and the column narrowly escaped annihilation through the treachery of Tuareg guides (Foureau, 1902). The column under Gentil advanced from the south and the three columns met at Lake Chad. There Rabeh, who had harassed the country for ten years, was defeated and killed, but not before he had taken the life of Major Lamy, the French commander (Von Oppenheim, 1902; Chevalier, 1907). A few years before this event, Colonel Monteil explored the upper and middle courses of the Niger; then he extended his journey to Lake Chad, from which he crossed the Sahara to Tripoli. This conquest of the Sahara by France followed as a natural expansion southward from Algeria, whose chief town, Algiers, had been captured in 1830. Not only has France pressed southward across the Sahara; gradually her African protectorate has extended over Tunisia and Morocco.

French conquests in west Africa began in 1637 when Captain Lambert and De Rochfort penetrated more than two hundred miles inland from the Gambia in the far west and established trading stations. But many vicissitudes followed, including loss of the Senegambian forts to the Dutch, and despite the work of André

de Brié, French settlements in the west passed into British hands during the latter part of the eighteenth century. In 1798 the defeat of Napoleon in Egypt by the British checked French expansion in that quarter. But the persistence of French exploration and settlement on the west coast was continued intermittently until the Tuareg were defeated and Timbuktu was captured, in 1893. About this time Colonel Binger, who had been interested in west African exploration since 1887, defeated a powerful congeries of tribes known as the Mandingo. Consequently, French territory now extends without interruption from the west coast to Lake Chad and across the Sahara to the Mediterranean.

Meanwhile the British had not been idle, though their early initiative on the west coast was concerned chiefly with the founding of trading stations, in keen rivalry with the French, Dutch, and Portuguese. To the Portuguese must be given the credit of first entering the famous city of Benin in southern Nigeria, a place noted for the technique of bronze-casting, the carvings in ivory and wood, the pomp of the court, and the human sacrifices on a large scale. Sequira, a Portuguese, is said to have been the first European to enter Benin, and not until 1553, about eighty years after the Portuguese entry, did the British make contact with the Bini through the enterprise of Windham and Pinteals. Ten years later, Sir John Hawkins was engaged in the slave trade from west Africa to the West Indies and Brazil. Then followed a great expansion of commercial enterprise based largely on this inhuman traffic, in which several European nations and America competed.

Although the coastal regions of west Africa had long been a center of attraction, despite the heavy death toll, enterprise and opportunity were lacking for exploratory conquest of the far interior. But in 1795 Mungo Park (1799), a young Scottish surgeon acting for the newly formed African Association, arrived at the mouth of the Gambia with the intention of exploring the Niger from source to mouth, and while doing so he planned to visit Timbuktu at the bend of the river. After two years of peril and captivity, Park escaped from Ali of Benowm, only to be turned back from Segou on the Niger by the Sultan of that town. The explorer, robbed of all possessions and in ill-health, returned to Scotland. But in 1805 he was in west Africa again with the same quest in view, and, on this occasion, with better protection and equipment. The history of the second attempt to follow the Niger from source to mouth is one of increasing sickness,

theft by natives, mutiny among the escort of soldiers, and complete disorganization.

When Bamaku on the Niger was reached after a journey of six hundred miles from the coast, only seven of the thirty-four white men survived. In comparison with the hardships of the march, the river journey proceeded with ease, though the canoe was unwieldy and sickness was rife. The explorers continued for a thousand miles by water, fighting against great odds, and on one occasion they dispersed sixty hostile canoes. Near Busa, where the river narrows, a determined attack was made from the bank, until at last, in desperation, Park and his companions jumped to save their lives. They were drowned in the rapids. For several years, no news reached England, and even today the exact circumstances are unknown (J. Thomson, 1890; Gwynn, 1934). Peddie (1816) and Major Gray; then Dochard, two years later; and Park's son, who disbelieved the reports of his father's death; followed the course of the Niger. But all laid down their lives in the unsuccessful quest of following the river to the estuary.

Commander Clapperton (Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney, 1828), who had crossed the Sahara with Denham and Oudney in 1821, landed on the Nigerian coast four years later to continue his exploration of Nigeria in the company of Pearce, Morrison, and Richard Lander. The only survivor of this expedition from the coast to Sokoto in northwest Nigeria was Lander, who lived to solve the problem of the Niger on a later expedition. Clapperton reached Sokoto, where he died under circumstances that indicated poisoning (Lander, 1830).

R. Lander (1832), the sole survivor, returned to England and there obtained a parsimonious grant from the British Government; then again he sailed for Nigeria, where he landed with his brother John in the year 1830. The explorers set out on foot for Yauri, where dugout canoes were obtained for the voyage down the Niger to the estuary. After many perils, they passed the point where the Benue joins the Niger. Continuing south, they reached the coast at Brass, after exploring the river from the point where Mungo Park lost his life. While according credit to Richard and John Lander for their achievement, the pioneer work of Park should not be forgotten, for the two journeys of Park along the course of the Niger were one of the most dogged enterprises in the history of African exploration.

The ill-fated Niger expedition of 1841 has been described by W. Allen and T. R. H. Thomson (1848), in their narrative.

On the staff were 145 scientists, missionaries, and business men, of whom one-third fell victims to fatal attacks of malarial fever. McGregor Laird, who had led an expedition to the lower Niger in 1830, opposed the venture of 1841 and foretold disaster. The failure of this expedition discouraged further attempts to such an extent that McGregor Laird had great difficulty in carrying out his project of 1854. Yet, contrary to expectation, this expedition not only secured results of commercial importance and scientific value but returned without loss of a single member of the staff. Under command of W. B. Baikie, the *Pleiad* ascended the Niger as far as the junction of the Benue, which was explored for a distance of 250 miles. The name of Governor John Beecroft is associated with indefatigable labors in exploring the Nigerian coast and hinterland, but untimely death prevented him from assuming the leadership of the successful expedition of 1854. Major J. Duncan (1847), who survived the disastrous expedition of 1841, traveled in Dahomey and described the country, where he later lost his life.

From this time onward, the history and exploration of west Africa is concerned with the commercial and political rivalry of trading companies, to which administrative powers and spheres of influence were given by several European countries. Apathy of the British government, together with jealousy between England, France, and Germany, added to the dangers and uncertainties caused by warfare between powerful west African chiefs. But during this period of competition the work of exploration continued.

In the period from 1500 to 1900, ethnology was not systematically and intensively studied, yet many valuable ethnological notes were given among general observations. A trader named W. Bosman (1705) has left a work of great merit, in which he describes personal observations of the ceremonies and habits of the Ashanti.

The journey of Lieutenant Boyd Alexander (1907) in 1904 was of a general exploratory nature, yet he made valuable observations relating to many tribes which are not well described even today. His route followed the Niger to Lokoja, from which point he passed through the Munshi country, then hostile to strangers and only recently opened to travelers. When crossing the Bauchi plateau, he met with tribes who at the present time are unaffected by either Christianity or Mohammedanism. Boyd Alexander's record included a description of Bornu and a brief account of the Buduma, a fishing community living on the western shore of Lake Chad.

Mary Kingsley's "West African Studies" and "Travels in West Africa" show her courage in exploring unknown country in Nigeria and the Congo estuary, with only African servants as companions. Vivid description, ethnological information, and a humorous outlook have established her books as works of permanent value (Gwynn, 1932; Nathan, 1908).

Crossing of the Sahara by camel caravan has been accomplished by several explorers in modern times. Hanns Vischer (1910) traversed the desert from Tripoli to Lake Chad, and about the same time A. H. W. Haywood (1912) crossed from Timbuktu. A. Buchanan's trans-Saharan expedition of 1924 added valuable zoological material to the Rothschilds' Museum at Tring, England, and the observations on migratory birds have proved a welcome addition to ornithology (Buchanan, 1926).

Hazards and difficulties arising in part from Bedouin suspicion, and in part from topographical and climatic factors, fell to the lot of Hassanein Bey (1925), who explored Libya in 1922. He checked the map of d'Anville, 1749, and surveyed oases that had not been visited, except by the Senussi Arabs, since the time of Rohlfs (1872).

Additional references of importance in their bearing on the history and exploration of the Sahara and west Africa are given below.

*North and Central Sahara.*—Bourbon (1933), Bovill (1928), D. R. G. Cameron (1928), Haardt and Dubreuil (1924), Harris (1895), Kilian (1935), Mondadori (1926), Ness (1931).

*Eastern Sahara (Libya).*—Bagnold (1933, 1936), Ball (1927), Bermann (1934), Kádár (1934), King (1931), Newbold (1924), Newbold and Shaw (1928), Tilho (1920), Umberto (1935).

*West Africa.*—Migeod (1925), Utting (1931).

#### THE CONGO AND ZAMBEZI RIVERS

Although Portuguese exploration and settlement were continued along the lower course of the River Congo from the end of the fifteenth century, no attempt was made to explore the river to its source. Not until late in the nineteenth century was demonstration given that the Lualaba River of southeast Africa is the beginning of the Congo itself.

In the year 1816 Captain Tuckey (1818) of the British Navy, with Lieutenant Hawkey as second in command, and a complement of scientists, sailed against the current of the Congo until he reached

Yelala Falls, about 120 miles from the estuary. When I recall the slow progress of a modern steam vessel against the current, Tuckey's success seems the more remarkable. He speaks of large whirlpools that swept the sloop round despite the use of oars and sails, and his record describes a phenomenon that impresses every traveler, namely, the deep conical vortices that open here and there without warning.

At the outset, Tuckey proved himself to be not only a skilled navigator and fighter but a shrewd observer whose orders indicated a sympathetic understanding of native life. He advised his colleagues to be guarded without showing suspicion, and he pointed out that a display of possessions would lead to thefts which would make reprisals necessary. The commander ordered that presents were not to be given before the rank of the recipients had been ascertained. This rule holds good today, and a modern traveler could make no greater mistake than that of slighting a village headman. Respect for native women was one of Tuckey's maxims, and above all he enjoined his men not to interrupt native ceremonies, although the rites might be crude and offensive to Europeans. He also told his men to avoid offending native beliefs in any of the venerated objects, especially sacred trees. The narrative refers appreciatively to the work of four scientists, who, after the manner of the period, made some miscellaneous observations on African customs, vocabularies, plants, and animals. Tuckey and Hawkey, who had seen many years of naval service together, including a period as prisoners of war in France, sailed on the homeward voyage, but both died before the vessel reached home. The total loss of personnel in this expedition was heavy.

In his preface to "A Journey to Ashango-Land" (1867), Paul du Chaillu expresses the chagrin he felt when discredit was thrown on his statements respecting the Ogowe River region, north of the Congo estuary. His observations of Pygmies, whom he called Obongo dwarfs, and his notes on gorillas were received with mistrust. Du Chaillu remarks on the unfortunate position of a pioneer in unknown countries: "If he returns home with nothing new or striking to relate, he is voted a bore, and his book has no chance of being read. But if he has some wonders to unfold connected with geography, the natives, or natural history, the fate of Abyssinian Bruce too often awaits him, his narrative being held up to ridicule as a tissue of figments." H. Barth of Saharan fame doubted the statements of Du Chaillu, yet time and further observation have established the value of the records.



To know something of the biography of an explorer is to enhance the interest in his discoveries, and a study of the childhood of H. M. Stanley supports this view. Like René Caillié, he spent his early years in a charity school. He was born in Wales (1840) with the name of John Rowlands, but at the age of three years he was sent to a poorhouse, where he remained until the age of thirteen. About that time he shipped as a cabin boy to New Orleans, where a wealthy merchant adopted him but unfortunately died intestate, so that his ward received no bequest. Stanley had an adventurous life among Indians, as a miner in California, and as a soldier in the American Civil War, at the close of which he went to Crete as a correspondent for the *New York Herald*. Travel in Turkey and Asia Minor, in addition to his previous adventures, provided an ideal training for African exploration, which from the year 1869 onward placed him in the front rank of pioneers (D. Stanley, 1909).

Stanley (1878, 1891) landed at Zanzibar in 1871 and marched to Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika, where he met with Livingstone, whose fate was unknown in England. Livingstone was not lost—he was far too experienced not to know his geographical situation—but he was sick and near death. The achievements of Stanley include the following of the Lualaba from the source to its junction with the Congo, and thence in a westerly direction to the mouth of the Congo, so establishing the continuity of the two rivers. He explored lakes Albert and Albert Edward, together with the Semliki River that flows between them. Then he reconnoitered a large region of the central Congo in the interest of King Leopold of Belgium, who financed an expedition which was aided by the African International Association.

Stanley was one of the most determined and successful of African explorers, with no scruples against fighting his way, and he did so with the aid of four hundred men. In his ascent of the Congo in 1877, he had an initial force of 389 men, of whom only 174 remained at the end of the journey, and these were reduced to exhaustion.

Students who are interested in the psychology of leadership will find a field of research in the personalities and achievements of African explorers.

Among men who had a strong social and financial backing, Stanley for the Congo and Barth for the Sahara are prominent. The political and commercial achievements of Stanley surpass those of Barth because of the advantage of the former in exploring a rich country with waterways that aided commercial development. But

the greater scientific honors are due to Barth, whose books are masterpieces of accurate recording and relevant interpretation. On the contrary, Stanley's records of the Congo are often journalistic.

Some successful explorers had ample funds, government backing, and the prospect of a relief expedition. But others, of whom René Caillié is an example, set out almost penniless, with only the moral support of a few friends and their own indomitable courage.

Mungo Park was gentle and chivalrous, with a mind unable to appreciate the fact that cunning, greed, and religious intolerance cannot be matched with courtesy, frankness, and tolerance. Livingstone had a mentality similar to that of Park, and he survived for thirty years without relinquishing moral principles that regulated his contact with natives. But one must remember that, although Livingstone was hated by Arabs and sometimes tricked by native chiefs, he, unlike Park, was not usually moving in a country of hostile Mohammedan despots.

The period from 1870 to 1890 was one of concentrated effort in the opening up of the Congo region and Angola. Closely associated with exploration in Angola are the names of Capello and Ivens (1880), Monteiro (1875), Pogge (1880), and Pinto (1881). Monteiro's volumes have for many years provided the only ethnological notes on the Vasele, who inhabit rugged country in the hinterland of Novo Redondo. In the year 1930 I found the Vasele as Monteiro describes them. The men still chip all their teeth to points. They roast rats on skewers as a delicacy, and continue to live high on the hillsides (Fig. 80, *b*), from which they descend to the valleys to cultivate small gardens. Monteiro describes their cannibalism, for which they still have a reputation. The most recent account of exploration in Angola is by O. Jessen (1936), and in Hambly (1934a) a bibliography for Angola may be consulted.

North of the Congo estuary, Oscar Lenz (1878), the explorer of Saharan fame, made a reconnaissance of the Ogowe River, and from that point passed along the Congo and so across the continent to Tanganyika. One of the most notable names connected with the founding of the French Congo is that of Count de Brazza, who first became interested in the Ogowe region when serving as a French naval officer near that coast.

When in Gaboon in 1874, De Brazza thought that the Ogowe River might be the lower course of the Lualaba of the eastern Congo area. But this impression was corrected when De Brazza returned to Paris and learned of the discoveries of H. M. Stanley, who had proved

the Lualaba to be the upper course of the Congo. In 1880 Count de Brazza founded the Ogowe station, and Brazzaville near Stanley Pool on the main River Congo. A few years later he became Commissioner-General of this new colony of France, and when he died in 1905 his administrative career was recognized as sound, enduring, and sympathetic toward indigenous African cultures. French colonial expansion in central Africa was aided by Malamini, a man of Berber-Negro origin, who for a time effectively opposed the political schemes of H. M. Stanley on the River Congo in the year 1881. Stanley had hoped to add territory to the Congo State, but to his disappointment the French flag was flying in some coveted areas before Belgium could establish a claim. Malamini yielded only by order of France, who decided to waive some of her claims.

Lieutenant H. von Wissmann (1907) was a distinguished explorer and later an administrator of German East Africa, whose early exploration in the north of Angola was carried out in conjunction with Pogge. Von Wissmann crossed from Loanda in Angola to Zanzibar, so traversing the continent, and rather later (1886) he engaged in survey work in the Kasai region of the southwest Congo.

The decade from 1890 to 1900 brought a further extension and consolidation of French enterprise from the mouth of the Congo to Lake Chad, an achievement with which the names of Dybowski (1893), Maistre (1895), and Gentil are associated. Gentil has been mentioned above in connection with the Foureau-Lamy expedition across the Sahara. With this column Gentil united his forces for the overthrow of Rabeh, a deserter from the army of the Mahdi, who was opposing British forces in the eastern Sudan. Dybowski (1893) states that his object in traveling from the mouth of the Congo to Lake Chad was imperialistic and commercial. He was, in fact, carrying out the scheme of Crampel for a large, compact, central African territory that the French could unite with their possessions in north and west Africa.

A few years after the journey of Dybowski, General Marchand entered the French Congo at the Loango coast, explored the Congo and Ubangi rivers, then settled at Fashoda, until conflict with the British under Kitchener caused him to withdraw. Marchand explored the Sobat River, a tributary of the Nile, then traveled east to the port of Jibuti in French Somaliland. The journey across Africa reflected great credit on Marchand, since the traverse was made with only slight losses of personnel and equipment.

When studying the Congo region, the following works are of importance as sources for ethnology, history, and geography: Bentley (1900), V. L. Cameron (1877), Junker (1890-92), L'Enfant (1909), Chevalier (1907, 1908, 1910), Coquilhat (1888), Foa (1900), Humphrey (1933), H. H. Johnston (1908), O. Macleod (1912), Mecklenburg (1913), Lopez (1591), Schoeller (1901), Schweinfurth (1874, 1883), F. Stuhlmann (1894), Torday (1928b), Ihle (1929).

#### SOUTH AND EAST AFRICA

From the time of the Dutch settlement at the Cape of Good Hope in the year 1652, the history of South Africa has been characterized by warfare and political rivalry between these first settlers and later English pioneers. Other important factors in the development of the country are geographical exploration and intermittent warfare between colonists and hordes of Bushman, Hottentot, and Zulu tribes. Early English and Dutch observers made ethnological observations which have been translated and compiled (Schapera, 1930a, Schapera and Farrington, 1933).

Bushman and Hottentot tribes were so disintegrated before any systematic anthropological study was begun that present investigation has to rely to some extent on gleanings from the works of early explorers. In the early part of the nineteenth century (1803-1806), Lichtenstein (1811-12) made valuable observations, and W. Burchell's "Travels in the Interior of South Africa" is another work to which anthropologists and zoologists refer for information relating to the condition of South Africa in the period from 1822 to 1824. The travels of J. Campbell (1815, 1822), the researches of Andersson (1856) near Lake Ngami, and reports of J. Chapman (1868) are valuable source books for study of customs, now obsolete. Writings of R. Pöch (1910), S. Passarge (1907), and L. Schultze (1907) are of ethnological value. E. E. Mossop (1935), and H. C. Notcutt (1935) have published extracts from the works of early explorers.

The missionary labors of Robert Moffat (1842) among the Bechuana tribe continued for fifty years, until he returned to England. Moffat translated the Bible into Sechuana, a scholarly task. He also demonstrated practical ability as a teacher of carpentry, blacksmith's work, and building. The name of R. Moffat is associated with geographical research, the founding of mission stations, ethnological observations, and a determined fight against the slave trade.

The missionary work and explorations of David Livingstone were undertaken in the period from 1843 to 1873. From early boyhood, Livingstone worked in a Scottish cotton mill, but despite long hours of labor he found time for evening study, which was later continued in medicine and biology at a missionary college in England. In the year 1840, Livingstone proceeded to Kuruman mission station, about seven hundred miles north of Algoa Bay, south Africa. Four years later he married Mary Moffat, daughter of the pioneer missionary Robert Moffat, and for many years she shared the hardships of travel with her husband.

One of Livingstone's journeys led him to Lake Ngami, then west across Angola to the port Benguela, where he had the offer of a passage to England. Though sick and exhausted, Livingstone carried out his contract with his porters, whom he had promised to lead back to their home in Rhodesia. Other explorations of Livingstone covered a large field between the Rovuma River in east Africa and lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika. Livingstone reached Ujiji near the north end of Tanganyika, crossed the lake, explored the Lualaba River, and returned to Ujiji, where he was met by H. M. Stanley.

After they parted Stanley marched north, while Livingstone traveled west to Lake Bangweolo, where he arrived weakened by fever and exhausted by long marches. The men who found him dead in an attitude of prayer preserved the body and carried it to Zanzibar, whence it was transferred to England and buried in Westminster Abbey. Two of Livingstone's notable achievements were the discovery of Lake Nyasa and the exploration of the Shiré River. He was aided by John Kirk, later Sir John Kirk, who was appointed as Britain's representative in Zanzibar (Livingstone, 1858, 1866; H. Waller, 1880).

A note in Livingstone's diary is an indication of the frankness, gentleness, and disinterested effort for which he was renowned. He says, "As far as I myself am concerned, the opening of the new central country is a matter for congratulation only in so far as it opens up a prospect for the elevation of the inhabitants. . . . I have not mentioned half the favours bestowed, but I may just add that no one has cause for more abundant gratitude to his fellow-men and to his Maker than I have, and may God grant that the effect on my mind be such that I may be more humbly devoted to the service of the Author of all our mercies."

In the decade following the death of Livingstone, Emil Holub (1879, 1881), by birth a native of Bohemia, and a surgeon at the Kimberley mines, explored the country of the hostile Ba-ila in Northern Rhodesia. With his wife and a companion named Sollner, Holub ventured into the unknown districts, where Sollner was murdered by natives, while the others arrived at the Zambezi after suffering extreme privation. Holub's works describe the tribes of Northern Rhodesia and eastern Angola. As a compendium, Theal's (1907-10) three volumes dealing with the history and ethnography of south Africa are valuable though not infallible source books.

The name of V. L. Cameron (1877) is associated with his crossing of Africa from Zanzibar, an achievement which was the first east to west traverse made by an Englishman. He mapped Lake Tanganyika, explored the Lualaba River, and then proceeded westward to Benguela in Angola (Foran, 1937). His notes on tribes of eastern Angola are valuable, because even today there is a paucity of information about the Vachokwe, who from the time of Livingstone have preserved a reputation for truculence. Yet the gaps in our ethnological knowledge of the eastern border of Angola are gradually being filled (H. von Baumann, 1935; F. and W. Jaspert, 1930).

A possibility exists that the first crossing of Africa was made by early *pombeiros*, a name given by the Portuguese to leaders of caravans. But such men were concerned with trade in slaves, ivory, and copper; moreover, most of them were untutored pioneers who made no written records, and consequently their knowledge died with them. One of the most famous leaders who penetrated Africa from the east coast was José de Lacerda e Almeida, who advanced from Mozambique to the Great Lakes. But unfortunately all his records were lost when he perished in the interior in the year 1798. R. F. Burton (1873) has given an account in English of Almeida's exploration.

#### THE NILE AND NORTHEAST AFRICA

Exploratory activity in northeast Africa centered in discovery of the source of the Nile, and toward the end of the eighteenth century a group of talented explorers appeared; these attempted to solve a problem that had puzzled the Egyptians six thousand years before. Among the pioneers in this work were James Bruce, John Lewis Burckhardt, W. G. Browne, and Henry Salt. James Bruce (1804) traced the Blue Nile from its Abyssinian source to the junction with the White Nile. Finally he reached Assuan, but had to return to the desert for his baggage, which had been abandoned

owing to the death of all his camels. Like Du Chaillu, Bruce was offended by the incredulity with which his reports were received, but his volumes entitled, "Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile in the Years 1768-1773," have completely demonstrated the thoroughness and the accuracy of his exploration. Stimulated by the research of Bruce, W. G. Browne (1799) traveled in the Libyan Desert. He visited the oasis of Siwa, and then proceeded south to Darfur, where he remained in captivity for three years before being able to return to Egypt.

Burckhardt (1819) relied on his ability to speak Arabic, his knowledge of Koranic law, and his effective Arab disguise, for traveling in Arabia and later in the Nubian Desert east of the Nile. In the year 1815 he arrived in Cairo in a state of extreme exhaustion. He recovered partially, but succumbed two years later when planning a journey to Tripoli. Henry Salt, one-time British Consul in Egypt, explored parts of Abyssinia and the Zanzibar coast in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

Exploration of Abyssinia is connected with activities of members of the Church Missionary Society, and notable among these are Krapf and Rebmann (1860). The former tells of a severe illness in early youth and a near approach to death, at which time he resolved to devote himself to mission work. Krapf, like Livingstone, was imbued with a sincere piety that sustained him through many years of peril and exhaustion.

Krapf and Rebmann worked their way from Mombasa northward to the region of the great mountains Kilimanjaro and Kenya, in 1848. The interest aroused by the reports of these missionaries led to further exploration by R. F. Burton (1856) and Speke (1858). Burton discovered Lake Tanganyika, and Speke explored the south shore of Lake Victoria Nyanza. On this journey Burton had the misfortune to fall ill near Tanganyika; therefore, greater acclaim was given to Speke, who continued northward alone, discovered Lake Victoria Nyanza, and was the first to reach England. Under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society, which had evolved from the African Association, Speke and Grant explored the south shore of Victoria Nyanza and traveled down the Nile.

During this return journey Speke and Grant met Sir Samuel Baker and his wife, who had explored the River Athara, a tributary of the Nile, and were working southward in the hope of discovering the source of the White Nile. Despite the disappointment of learning that they had been forestalled by Speke and Grant, Baker

(1867) and his wife continued their journey, and acting on information given by their rivals they were able to explore Lake Albert Nyanza, of whose existence Speke and Grant had given assurance. This was in the year 1862, but for several years the region round the source of the Nile remained imperfectly explored, and even the reconnaissance of H. M. Stanley, about ten years later, left many details to be added to the cartography of the region.

From the Church Missionary Society came R. W. Felkin, 1878, who traveled from Suakin on the Red Sea to the Nile, which he followed to Uganda. The name of Joseph Thomson (1885) is associated with exploration between Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika, then with travels farther north, where he pioneered in the Rift Valley and in the region of Lakes Naivasha and Baringo.

In Abyssinia, and along the border between that country and Kenya, valuable exploration was carried out by A. D. Smith (1897), Bottego (see Vannutelli, 1899), Stefani, Teliki (see Von Höhnelt, 1894), and Maud (1904). See also Von Heuglin (1877) and Maydon (1925). Matteucci and Massari advanced from Suakin on the coast through Abyssinia, Kordofan, Wadai, and Bornu—a difficult route owing to the hostility of Sudanese Arab tribes. From the year 1291, when the Vivaldi brothers touched the coast of Guinea, Italians contributed to the opening up of Africa. Giuseppe Sapeto founded the Italian colony of Eritrea on the shore of the Red Sea. Casati (1891) contributed two volumes describing his explorations, and ethnological observations. Antonio Cecchi (1885–86) penetrated Abyssinia, and among modern explorers the late Duke of Abruzzi is famous. A bibliography for the Italian names will be found in “*Voyageurs italiens en Afrique*,” published by the Minister of Colonies, Rome, 1931, and a similar compendium of Italian discoveries has been prepared by E. Cerulli (1933).

For supplementary reading on Abyssinia and the upper Nile region, the following books and articles are recommended. O. Baumann (1894), Cheeseman (1928), Cohen (1913, 1914), Jensen (1936), Lepsius (1853), J. Lobo (see P. Wyche, and Pinkerton’s “*Voyages and Travels*” (1808–1814), C. F. Ray (1923), Stern (1862), who describes the Falashas, and Wylde (1901).

G. Schweinfurth (1874, 1883) was primarily a botanist, who began his explorations with a journey in the northeast area of the Congo basin. He made several subsequent expeditions which gave valuable records of the Dinka, Bongo, Mittu, and other tribes of the upper Nile. With the same region, the explorations of W. Junker,



1875-90, are associated (1890-92). The name of Emin Pasha is important in the history of exploration in northeast Africa (1870-92). He was born in Russia of Jewish parents named Schnitzer. After being educated in Breslau and other towns, he acted as surgeon in the Turkish army; then later he served with General Gordon in the Sudan. Gordon was killed in the defence of Khartum against the dervish followers of the Mahdi in 1885 (B. M. Allen, 1931).

As a result of hostilities in the Sudan, Emin Pasha was completely isolated from his associates, and he refused to accompany H. M. Stanley to a place of safety. Emin Pasha suffered a long imprisonment but later entered the services of the German East African Company, after Kitchener had subdued the Mahdi's rebellion. The exploratory work of Emin Pasha has been described by Dr. Stuhlmann (1894), who persisted in exploration despite failing eyesight, only to meet his death at the hands of Arab assassins.

Although no new and astonishing geographical discoveries can be expected, much surveying and cartography remain to be done, especially in the Sahara from Mauretania to Libya. In conjunction with exploration geological surveys are essential, and better topographical tribal maps must be prepared. To keep in touch with modern exploration, the various geographical journals listed in the bibliography of periodicals should be consulted.

A new edition (1930) of H. H. Johnston's "A History of the Colonization of Africa by Alien Races" is a valuable textbook. The work contains a chronological table of all the major explorations and political events up to the year 1912. For literature bearing on history and administration after 1912 consult the following pages (672-689).

## II. EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS

### THE PARTITIONING OF AFRICA

(Map 5)

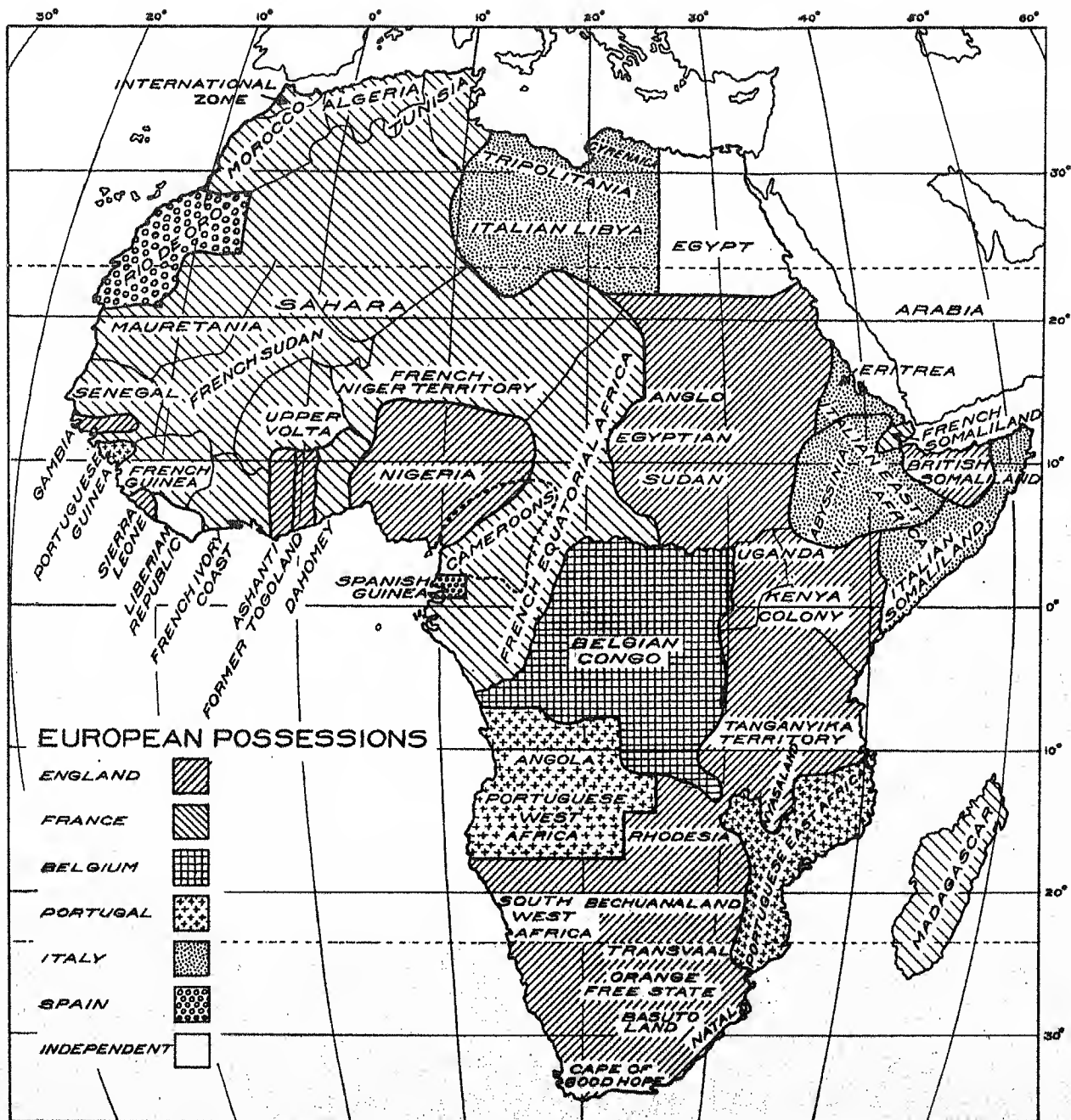
Long rivalry between European commercial and political interests has resulted in a partitioning of Africa to the mutual dissatisfaction of European powers and with injustice to Africans, since political boundaries cut across ethnological divisions. Instances of this disregard for tribal unity are to be found in the division of the Masai tribes between Kenya Colony and Tanganyika Territory, and again in the separation of the Vakyanyama in Portuguese Angola from the Ovambo of South West Africa, which is now under British mandate, though formerly under German rule.

The extent of territory administered by each European country which is represented in Africa may be seen from the accompanying map showing the areas occupied by Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Italy, and Spain. At the close of the World War, German territories were divided among the Allies, who now administer them by mandate from the League of Nations. To this body, in theory at any rate, the governing European powers are responsible.

Tanganyika and South West Africa are under British mandate. The Cameroons were divided in such a way that the British added a narrow strip to Nigeria, while France received the greater portion for inclusion in her Congo territory. Togoland was divided between the British possessions of Ashanti and French Dahomey. The partitioning of Africa has been discussed by Beer (1923), and by Lucas (1922).

If a student is doing research with a political unit as the subject, the following sources are indispensable. Fitzgerald (1934) gives an exposition of the relationship between geography, history, administration, and economic problems. Topographical details of areas, climate, communications, and products for each political division are fully treated. See also bibliographies arranged according to political divisions (pp. 836-839).

The catalogues of H. M. Stationery Office, Kingsway, London, are a list of British Government publications, each dealing with a separate political division or with a specific educational or economic problem. Similar official reports are issued by the Ministries of Colonies in Paris, Rome, Brussels, and Lisbon, for French, Italian, Belgian, and Portuguese territory. A student should write to the



MAP 5. Approximate political boundaries of European possessions.

Scale: 1 inch=804 miles.

foreign consulate in his own city asking for information. Handbooks of the well-indexed, encyclopedic type, with maps, are available for most political divisions. The recent handbook for Uganda (H. B. Thomas and R. Scott, 1935) is exceptionally well compiled and illustrated. History, geology, economics, natural history and all aspects of native welfare are well described. The "South and East African Year Book and Guide" (A. S. and G. G. Brown, 1935, and periodically) is indispensable as a south African background. The maps are excellent. Many useful publications are issued by Crown Agents for the Colonies, 4 Millbank, London, England.

Consultation of the bibliography of periodicals at the end of this work will indicate that a wide field of current literature is available for social and political study. The title of the periodical usually suggests the nature of the contents.

For study of a political area, a detailed map is essential. E. Stanford, Long Acre, London, issues a large catalogue of ordnance survey maps for Africa.

#### INDEPENDENT TERRITORY

When describing the partitioning of Africa, three territories, Egypt, Liberia, and until recently Abyssinia, require special consideration because of their independence. In 1935, Egypt was a sovereign state ruled by an Egyptian, King Fuad, who was aided by an elected body, but Britain retained rights of veto over legislation, and a British garrison guarded the Suez Canal. This canal was cut in the year 1869, and its geographical situation between the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea gives it commercial and strategic value. Toward the close of 1935, and as a result of protest by powerful Egyptian Nationalists, Great Britain made considerable restoration of constitutional government to Egypt. The form of independence conceded was of the type which had been suspended in the year 1923. On the death of King Fuad, Prince Faruk, a minor, succeeded, and the virtually independent country was ruled by an Egyptian Regency Council. In 1937 Faruk was crowned. Lord L. Dolobran (1933) has published a work which will bring a student almost up to date with the Egyptian situation.

The internal affairs of Liberia have received such recent attention from the League of Nations, and the past history of the country is so closely linked with American enterprise, especially through the agency of the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, that this small republic of the west coast is of exceptional political interest. The

country is without a railway line, and the general development of mineral and other resources is backward. An unexplored field for ethnological work remains. Sibley and Westermann (1929) published a handbook which summarizes the political and educational situation.

In the year 1820 the American Colonization Society, which was a private body, sent out a company of freed Negroes from America to Liberia. These established themselves on the promontory where Monrovia now stands, purchased land from Liberian chiefs, and entered on a precarious existence marked by warfare with native Liberians and slave raiders of English, French, and Spanish nationality. General Roberts, in the year 1841, was the first man to take charge of Liberian affairs, and a few years later Liberia adopted a republican constitution which was recognized by Great Britain.

This political growth does not imply the attainment of unity and autonomy. For many years the hinterland of Liberia remained unexplored and unaffected by political movements that concerned only the coastal region. Even today no sense of general cooperation exists, and a pressing problem before the League of Nations has been the unfair exploitation of the hinterland chiefs and their subjects by the more sophisticated Negro politicians of the coast.

In the year 1926 the Firestone Tire and Rubber Company obtained a concession of a million acres on a lease of ninety-nine years. But recent events affecting the economic outlook of the world have retarded the commercial, and perhaps the social, benefits that might have resulted from this enterprise. Liberian problems were summarized by Christy (1931a, b), Dyke (1935), and J. C. Young (1934).

In view of recent Italian conquests, information on Abyssinia, which was independent for centuries, must now be included with notes on Italian possessions.

#### BRITAIN

A helpful introduction to the study of British possessions in Africa has been published by A. W. Pimm (1934), who makes a general survey. Geographically, a convenient starting point for the study of British territory is the colony of Sierra Leone on the west coast, which, with Gambia, a narrow strip of land bordering a river of that name, has historical connections with Britain going back to the middle of the eighteenth century. Following a period of administration and development by trading companies, government rule was established about the close of that century.

The name of the largest town, Freetown, recalls the use of the colony as a home for freed slaves in the early part of the nineteenth

century. From this busy seaport, a narrow gauge railway line extends a distance of 227 miles to Pendembu, with a branch more than a hundred miles in length. Many motorable roads exist. The colony has an area of 30,000 square miles and a population of about one and one-half millions. Palm kernels and kola nuts are valuable exports.

Experimental work on plantations will perhaps overcome the disadvantage arising from wasteful methods of obtaining oil from wild palms. At present the commodity is inferior to that of Sumatra and is therefore at a disadvantage in the American market. Of the goods consumed in Sierra Leone, 62 per cent is obtained from the United Kingdom, and a similar value of products is exported to that country, with slight fluctuations in the balance of trade from year to year.

Farther east, and on the west coast, are the Gold Coast (T. S. Thomas, 1929; W. E. Ward, 1935), Ashanti, and the Northern Territories, situated between two French possessions—the Ivory Coast and Dahomey. From Accra a railway line about a hundred miles long extends northward to Kumasi, which is connected by rail with the seaport of Sekondi. Important among the exports are palm oil, copra, rubber, cocoa, sisal hemp, mangoes, bananas, hides, rice, tapioca, and timber. The chief minerals are manganese, gold, bauxite and graphite, which are yet undeveloped. H. O. Newland (1922) compiled a handbook of economic and general information relating to British west African possessions. Byrne (1929) has described trade and transport.

The largest and most important British territory in west Africa is Nigeria, having an area of 256,000 square miles. It is entirely surrounded by French territory except for the six hundred miles of Atlantic seaboard. The chief rivers are the Niger in the west and its tributary, the Benue, which serve as a commercial highway for the entire southeastern area. When traveling northward from the coast, a broad area of dense forest is crossed, but this gradually becomes sparse, until open parkland, semi-desert, and true desert are reached. Hambly (1935a) gave a general account of the history and ethnology of Nigeria. Reference should be made to the *Nigeria Handbook* (Government Printing Press, Lagos).

In addition to mineral wealth, which includes tin, silver, lead, iron, and coal, the vegetable products—palm oil, shea butter, peanuts, cocoa, kola nuts, and cotton—are important. Railway systems are well developed in western Nigeria, while the Niger and its tributary,

the Benue, are valuable supplementary routes. Thousands of miles of motorable roads exist. Some of these highways are in use all the year, but others are closed for periods during the wet season from May to October, and later, in places where floods have caused damage.

From Lagos and Port Harcourt, main railway lines extend to Kano, nearly eight hundred miles from the coast, and to Jos, an important town in the tin-mining region of the Bauchi plateau. In the wet season, steamers ply the Benue from Lokoja, at the junction of the Benue and the Niger, to Yola, in the far east of Nigeria. In Nigeria are two of the largest bridges in Africa, one across the Niger at Jebba, and the other across the Benue at Makurdi. The story of Nigeria has been told by H. Clifford (1924). The history has been surveyed by Mockler-Ferryman (1902), and by Lady F. L. Lugard (1905). M. Perham (1936b) has described administration.

Sir Robert Williams (1933), founder of the Benguela Railway Company, first came to Africa in 1881 as a mining engineer. He was closely associated with Cecil Rhodes, who died in 1902 after spending many years in organizing and developing railways and mines in south Africa. In the year 1929 Sir Robert Williams' scheme of a transcontinental railway from Benguela in Angola, through the Belgian Congo and Rhodesia, to Portuguese East Africa, was completed. But the railway line from Cairo to Cape Town is not yet finished. South Africa has, however, a network of railways, which are connected with the trans-African line from Benguela to Beira. The system contains several notable engineering feats, including the bridging of the Zambezi near Victoria Falls. Millin's (1933) biography of Cecil Rhodes includes a large bibliography and a clear summary of this period of British expansion. By the same author (1936) is an important historical work dealing with the career of General Smuts.

From Cape Town a main railway line extends northeast to the junction of De Aar, and from that town northward to Windhoek, thence to Grootfontein, with lateral branches to the west coast ports of Lüderitz Bay and Swakopmund. The Transvaal, Orange Free State, and Durban have adequate railway communication which connects the main towns of South Africa with Bukuma and Elisabethville in the Belgian Congo. Some transport problems have been discussed by P. Johnson (1933); and Smuts (1930a) with other authors has published a pictorial account of railway expansion in south Africa.

The British dominions of south and east Africa are connected with England by a regular air service from London to Cape Town. This service is part of an Imperial Airways' scheme fostered by Sir Sefton Brancker. A description of air routes, with map, has been published by H. Burchell (1933).

Politically, the Union of South Africa includes Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and the mandated territory of South West Africa. Pietermaritzburg is the capital of Natal. Pretoria is the administrative center of the Transvaal, and Johannesburg is an important mining town concerned with the production of gold and diamonds. Mining, a complete survey of which has been made by P. Duncan (1936), is intimately connected with problems of native welfare.

Swaziland, which is not part of the Union of South Africa, is ruled by a native chief under the veto of a resident British Commissioner. Basutoland is a protectorate governed by a High Commissioner who represents the British Crown. Bechuanaland is also a protectorate. An excellent account of the economic geography of Swaziland has been published by Doveton (1936). L. Barnes (1933) has described the difficulties of administration in Bechuanaland. The country was unable to balance the budget and was faced with a heavy deficit. Foot and mouth disease was preventing export of cattle. Migration of laborers was disrupting indigenous cultures and social controls. Disease was widespread, and hospital accommodation was inadequate. The need for extended education is urgent. A scheme for developing adequate supplies of water is imperative.

Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia are two valuable tracts on the British route from the Cape to Cairo. The former, which is now a self-governing colony, is part of the high plateau of south Africa which rises to elevations of three thousand, and even five thousand feet. Consequently, tropical heat is modified and large areas are suitable for settlement by white people, a fact which raises certain social and political problems.

Southern Rhodesia has rich pastoral country from which herds of cattle find a ready market in the towns, and still greater development of the country is to be expected with lateral extension of railway lines from Salisbury and Bulawayo. Northern Rhodesia is a country of grasslands, and forests of varying density, and though the tsetse fly, the carrier of sleeping sickness to human beings and devastating disease to cattle, is present, herds are reared in the highlands. Mining is important, and the center named Broken



Hill, where lead and zinc are obtained, is on the main railway line from the Cape to Elisabethville in the south of the Belgian Congo. Standing (1935) has written a history of the Rhodesias, with maps and illustrations.

The British regions described have abundant mineral, agricultural, and pastoral wealth. Local products vary considerably, but among the minerals, gold, copper, and diamonds are the most valuable. The gold mines of Witwatersrand (The White Water's Ridge) produce a third of the world's supply of this mineral. Wine, fruits, cereals, tobacco, ostrich feathers, mohair, and hides are important, while the coal supply is sufficient for internal needs, and a surplus is exported from Durban eastward along the coast.

Communication by river in south Africa is not so important as one might at first glance suppose, owing to rapids, the drying of affluents, and the formation of gorges that hinder transport. The Limpopo, which crosses Portuguese East Africa to the Indian Ocean, forms the boundary between Southern Rhodesia and the Transvaal. The Orange River, with its chief tributary, the Vaal, rises in the Drakenberg Mountains. The Molopo dries up in the rainless season. The course of the Zambezi is interrupted by the Victoria Falls, where the river has cut a deep gorge forty miles long; at a place where the waters are a mile wide the river plunges 360 feet.

Nyasaland is a desirable strip of territory along the west side of Lake Nyasa. The lake is drained by the Shiré River, which flows south to Port Herald, a town on the railway line from Blantyre to the Portuguese port of Beira. Settlers occupy highlands near the Shiré River, and the wealth of Nyasaland includes cattle, rubber, cotton, coffee, tobacco, maize, and millet.

For a general survey of British policy, history, and economic development in south Africa several excellent textbooks are available.

I. L. Evans (1934) gives an account of the history, problems, and legislation affecting Negro and White populations in the Union of South Africa, the High Commission Territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland, and also in Southern Rhodesia and in South West Africa.

E. A. Walker (1934) has written a history of south Africa, and Kennedy and Schlosberg (1935) have examined "The Law and Custom of the South African Constitution." A short article on "The Constitutional Position of the South African Protectorates" by C. Tredgold is a useful introduction to the larger work of Kennedy and Schlosberg.

Tanganyika Territory, formerly German East Africa but now under British mandate, has tropical coastal plains and a higher hinterland, whose productiveness was greatly improved by German research and industry. Agricultural products are coconuts, rubber, cocoa, sugar, tea, coffee, and sisal. Sisal was introduced from Central America by German planters about thirty years ago, because the leaf fiber is valuable for making rope and sacking.

The main railway line extends across Tanganyika from Dar-es-Salam to Lake Tanganyika, a distance of seven hundred miles. The Zanzibar Protectorate imports large quantities of cotton cloth and petroleum, while the exports of importance include rice, ivory, and cloves.

North of Tanganyika Territory is Kenya Colony (British East Africa), of which Mombasa is the chief port and Nairobi the principal town, now greatly modernized. The main railway line is laid from Mombasa through Nairobi to Port Florence on Lake Victoria Nyanza. About a hundred miles inland from Mombasa, a branch line has been constructed to Moshi in Tanganyika Territory, and from that point to the coast opposite Zanzibar.

Although Kenya Colony is close to the equator, the tropical heat is so modified by elevation of the land that the country is suitable for settlement by Europeans. The entry of Indian traders has given rise to a problem involving the interests of white men, Bantu Negroes, pastoral Hamites, and Indian traders. The chief economic wealth consists of copra (the dried tissue from coconuts) hides, grain, oil-seeds, sisal, and ivory.

Lord Lugard's (1893) comprehensive work on the growth of the east African empire is historically important, and of recent problems he has written (1926) under the title of "The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa." A more recent contribution (1936) is a discussion of the political rivalry of the British and other European powers. D. J. Richter's work (1934) on "Tanganyika and Its Future" is a useful text; Gillman (1936) has prepared a map of population distribution in Tanganyika, and in conjunction with this R. C. Jerrard's list of tribes in that political area should be consulted. The bibliography of periodicals gives the titles of several journals which keep a reader in touch with current events in east Africa. W. H. Ingrams' (1931) work deals with the history of Zanzibar and the social condition of the population. N. M. Leys (1924) has produced a brief general account of Kenya, and Speller (1931) has written on land policy and economic development.

North of Kenya is situated Uganda, bordering the shore of Lake Victoria Nyanza, and still farther north the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. After a tragic period during which the population of the Sudan was harried and enslaved by the Mahdi (B. M. Allen, 1931), a slow return of prosperity and settlement followed Kitchener's defeat of the dervishes at the battle of Omdurman in 1898 (R. A. Bermann, 1931). The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan is a portion of the belt of grassland and semidesert that extends across Africa from Abyssinia to the Atlantic Ocean. The products of the Sudan are gum from desert hardwoods, a commodity for which the province of Kordofan is particularly noted, and cotton, millet, wheat, maize, beans, dates, shea butter, gold, and ivory.

A railway line from Alexandria on the Mediterranean Sea passes through Cairo and south to Assuan, where the first cataract is situated. A journey up the White Nile from Assuan brings the traveler to Wadi Halfa, on the border between Egypt and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The line then continues across the Nubian Desert in the great bend of the Nile, and from that point to Khartum at the junction of the White Nile and the Blue Nile.

From Khartum the railway proceeds southward through rich cotton fields to Gebel Moya (Hill of Water) between the White and the Blue Nile. Turning west at this small station, the line continues to the terminus at El Obeid after crossing a fine bridge at Kosti. To El Obeid come camel caravans from Kordofan and Darfur. Port Sudan, a town on the Red Sea, is of great commercial importance, and from this seaport railway lines extend to Kassala on the border of Italian Eritrea, and to Atbara on the White Nile. The latter line passes through rugged desert country inhabited by the Hadendoa (Fig. 37, *a*) and kindred Hamitic tribes. Count Gleichen (1905) edited two volumes which are a compendium of information on the Sudan, and the reports of the Wellcome Laboratories, Gordon College, Khartum, are valuable sources. Crabités (1935) has described the conquest of the Sudan, and MacMichael (1934) has published a general history. Logan's (1931) article deals with the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan as a problem in international relations.

British Somaliland, on the border of the Red Sea, is torrid country of semi-desert type, but important from a strategic point of view because of its situation near the town of Aden at the narrow southern entrance to the Red Sea. The chief port of British Somaliland is Berbera. For observations on British Somaliland, F. L. James (1888), Swayne (1895), Kittermaster (1932), Nesbitt (1934), and

J. Parkinson (1936), should be consulted, but detailed information on this region is meager.

### FRANCE

With the exception of French Somaliland, which has a strong strategic position at the southern end of the Red Sea, France owns no territory on the east side of the continent, but French dominions are extensive in north, west, and central Africa, as the map of political divisions indicates. French colonization has been so directed as to give continuity of dominion, even though the policy involves administration of two-thirds of the Sahara Desert, which is mainly a barren and uninhabited region.

In north Africa, French rule has improved the social and economic outlook in Algeria since the conquest of 1834, while more recent enterprise has established French protectorates over Tunisia and the greater part of Morocco. Railways and motor roads have been developed, so aiding commerce and assisting a lucrative tourist traffic. From Tunisia phosphates and olive oil are valuable exports, and Morocco contains unexploited mineral wealth. Hides, barley, wheat, maize, dates, cork, alfalfa grass, and fruits are typical products of the subtropical regions of north Africa.

In Algeria, a railway extends as far south as Tuggurt, where the trans-Saharan caravan journey begins. Experiments with Citroën cars used by Haardt and Dubreuil (1927), and tests with six-wheeled Renault cars, first proved the feasibility of crossing the desert with specially constructed automobiles; then later, after the easiest route was chosen, less specialized automobiles were used.

For details of modern motor transport in the Sahara, with map, see editorial notes in *L'AF*, vol. 36, 1936, pp. 654-655; and "Renseignements coloniaux," which is a supplement to this volume of *L'AF*.

Crossing the Sahara by railway, a project first suggested by M. Duponchel in 1879, presents many problems relating to engineering, economics, and military strategy. Millions of francs have been spent in preliminary investigations, and committees have reported on the feasibility of the scheme. These minutes have been published (De Warren, *L'AF*, vol. 37, 1927, pp. 221-223) and according to the judgment of select committees the railway scheme is desirable, both commercially and politically. The report of the council calls attention to a supremacy of German man-power, which might necessitate the bringing of French colonial troops to Europe, and if this were done the transports would be menaced by German submarines as they were during the World War. This danger could

be avoided by conveying west African colonial troops across the Sahara by rail. Moreover, the report emphasizes the desirability of linking north Africa with the western Sudan, Lake Chad, and the Congo basin, so coordinating the various possessions of France by a single system of railways.

Economically, the scheme appears to be justified. More extensive cultivation of rice on the well-watered banks of the Niger would be encouraged; so also would the production of maize and wheat. Manioc, from which tapioca is made, mucilage, and industrial alcohol distilled from grain, are mentioned as commercial possibilities which are now handicapped by the absence of an outlet by rail.

The report states that France obtains a relatively small proportion of her cotton supply from her west African possessions. The bulk of this material is now imported from Egypt, India, and the United States of America, so making French indebtedness greater than would be necessary if a railway system were developed in north and west Africa. Iron is reported to be abundant in French West Africa, and prospectors entertain a hope of obtaining more gold from the mountains of the Sudan.

Apparently, technical difficulties in constructing a railway across the Sahara are not so great as some experts have assumed, because the dunes of soft sand occupy only one-third of the route, and tracks could be laid across the stony desert. The expense would be great, but construction of the railroad would at once raise the value of land in the Sudan. Those who are concerned with the welfare of African natives wish to know what measures are to be taken to protect native rights during the gamble for territory by mercantile companies.

The argument that water supply for locomotives would exhaust desert wells is countered by a statement that the power for engines would be supplied by internal combustion of vegetable oils made from palm-nut pulp.

Administration and development of Morocco as a protectorate under the direction of Marshal Lyautey have shown the efficiency of French colonial policy. When France assumed control of Moroccan affairs about the year 1912, with the reservation of Tangier as a neutral zone, the country was in a backward and chaotic condition. Moorish troops mutinied, massacred French officers, and attacked the town of Fez, but finally the rebels were subdued, though desultory warfare and intermittent revolts continue in outlying regions.

France has spent large sums of money on medical service, a statement that is attested by the erection of a Pasteur Institute at Rabat, an anti-syphilitic institute at Fez, and a medical clinic for ophthalmic diseases at Casablanca. Veterinary science, agriculture, town lighting, education, and inspection of foods have all been brought under the control of scientific bureaus.

In west Africa, the principal French possessions are Senegal, French Guinea, the Ivory Coast, and Dahomey, all of which are in the littoral forest zone, which has a wealth of timber and vegetable products. In French Guinea, a railway has been constructed from Konakry for a distance of four hundred miles to the upper reaches of the Niger, which is also tapped by a railway from Dakar in Senegal to Bamako, a distance of seven hundred miles. These lines, together with the River Niger, maintain communication with Timbuktu, which is situated at the southern end of trans-Saharan routes from the Mediterranean Sea.

The Ivory Coast has a railway from Bingerville inland to Bouake, and in Dahomey are lines from Kotonu to Abomey and Parakou, and from the port of Lome to Atakpane. The former of these parallel lines from the coast has a length of two hundred miles, while the latter extends more than half that distance; therefore, inland products have ready access to the sea. The Governor-General for the region of French West Africa resides at Dakar, from which administrative center Lieutenant-Governors are sent to take charge of the principal provinces; namely, Mauretania, the French Sudan, the Upper Volta, Gabun, (Gaboon) Cameroons, Middle Congo, Ubangi Shari, and Chad and French Niger Territory. French Equatorial Africa includes Colony, which occupy an enormous tract of country between the southern Sahara and the River Congo.

For a general history of French colonial policy, S. H. Roberts (1929) should be consulted. G. Bruel (1935) has published a comprehensive work dealing with French Equatorial Africa. The book is well illustrated and is furnished with six maps. A brief article by R. Montagne (1934) deals with the political situation in north Africa. For history and recent administration by the French in west Africa, Pelleray (1923) and J. L. Monod (1926) are serviceable. Chazelas (1931) discusses the political situation in French mandated territory. See also Mumford (1936). "*L'Afrique Française*" is a most valuable periodical for keeping in touch with French, Belgian, and Italian administration in Africa.

## BELGIUM

The Belgian Congo occupies a tropical forest region of about a million square miles; that is, approximately one-third the size of the United States of America. Communication by the River Congo and its many tributaries is an indispensable aid to exploitation of the vast resources of vegetable and mineral wealth. The southern portion of the Belgian Congo is served by the transcontinental line, starting from Lobito Bay in Angola. The line extends across Angola to Dilolo in Belgian territory, and from that town serves the southern Belgian Congo as far as Elisabethville, which is in the copper-producing district of Katanga. The southern Congo region is famous for mineral earths from which radium is extracted. In addition to minerals and ivory there are forest products—rubber, palm oil, palm kernels, copal, and timber—while in the future the production of tobacco, cotton, and cocoa will be further developed. The founding of the Congo Free State is described by Stanley (1885) and by Hinde (1897). Warthin (1928) has given a brief account of transportation developments.

## PORTUGAL

Portuguese possessions include a small area on the extreme west coast, situated between French Guinea and the British possession of Gambia; but larger and more important than Portuguese Guinea are the colonies of Angola (Portuguese West Africa) and Portuguese East Africa.

The north of Angola is topographically part of the southern Congo region and resembles that area in temperature, humidity, and the growth of dense timber. Central Angola is occupied by rugged mountains and high plateaus which arrest moisture from the prevailing northeast winds and, in addition, modify tropical heat so that cultivation of maize and beans is possible on a large scale. The coast region is extremely dry, and so also are parts of the south and east. But in the south, water is stored in deep wells, and cattle-raising by the Vakwanyama is a principal industry.

In central Angola, roads are excellent, but in the far east the tracks are deeply rutted; troublesome sand hills are encountered, and weak wooden bridges cause many delays. In 1929 I thought that the development of Angola was retarded by excessive import and export duties, high taxation of producers, and the preferential tariff given to goods imported in Portuguese vessels. The abandoned homes of Boer farmers attest the inability of industrious settlers to develop the land under existing laws.

Diamond mines of the northeast are of great value, while sisal, coffee, and tobacco are grown and exported. Prospecting for oil is in progress, but a journey of five thousand miles in Angola left the impression that exploitation of resources has only begun. In addition to the transcontinental line from Lobito Bay and Benguela to Portuguese East Africa, two short lines exist. One of these extends from Loanda on the coast to Malange, which is situated in a coffee-producing area, while the other runs inland from Mossamedes to Lubango, in the Huila district. Here pastoral pursuits prevail, under the auspices of a well-equipped research station at Umpata.

In Portuguese East Africa, low coastal plains gradually give place to healthier inland plateaus near Lake Nyasa. Mozambique exports rubber, coffee, and ivory, while other important products are coconuts, sisal, sugar, and mangrove bark for tanning. The importance of Beira as a terminus for railways of the South African system and the transcontinental line is unequaled, for the town has direct railway connections with Salisbury in Southern Rhodesia and Blantyre in Nyasaland. Lourenço Marques is a notable seaport in the south of the colony, across which a line extends to form a link with the South African transport system.

For general information on the Portuguese colonies, the *Boletim da Agencia Geral das Colónias*, Rua da Prata, 34, Lisbon, is of service. This compendium is in Portuguese. The Lourenço Marques Directory is in English. T. A. Barns (1928) gives much miscellaneous information about Angola, and Dias (1934) has given a brief account of the policies behind Portuguese administration at the present day. Hambly (1931b) has written a travel book on Angola; the reading is light but informative. For further information on Angola, see under "Exploration," pp. 652, 664.

#### ITALY

Before the conquest of Abyssinia, Italy administered only a large area of barren territory. At the close of the World War, Italy received some concessions at the expense of the Turks, but the hinterland of Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, and Libya is mainly desert, relieved by a few oases. Italy has two primary needs: facilities for emigration, and a supply of raw materials from her own dominions. Italy is only one-half the size of France, but the Italian population, 42,000,000, is slightly greater than that of France, and much of the surface of Italy is unproductive land.



The agricultural department of Tripolitania is surmounting difficulties of soil, aridity, and shifting sands, while sources of water are being tapped. But absorption of Italians as settlers will always be too small to relieve the congestion at home; neither can settlement in Libya solve the difficulty of growing raw materials.

A camel caravan trade goes on between Tripoli and Benghazi and the interior; this commerce the Italians wish to strengthen by making a territorial extension in the direction of Lake Chad. French and Italian interests clash, not only in the Tibesti region of the east-central Sahara, but also in Tunisia, which is under French protection, though the Bey of Tunisia is still a sovereign. France urges the nationalization of Italians in Tunisia, and her policy discriminates against those who do not comply. On the other hand, Italy claims that her subjects in French dominions should suffer no educational or other disabilities. But an agreement between France and Italy, 1934, is likely to establish a better understanding of their respective rights and policies. Italy has received territorial concessions on the borders of Libya and Eritrea, and Italians in Tunisia are to maintain their own nationality for thirty years if they desire to do so.

On the coast of the Red Sea, Italy owns Eritrea, a narrow strip of territory seven hundred miles long. A large part of the area is salt desert or sparse bush, yet pasturage exists, and a recent suggestion favors a greater development of coffee plantations, whose product would have a market in Italy. A railway 150 miles long connects Massawa on the Red Sea with Asmara in the interior. The colony is of strategic importance because of its geographical situation near the narrow strait of Bab-el-Mandeb, which leads from the Indian Ocean to the Red Sea. The possession tends to preserve a balance of power in favor of Italy against the adjacent territories of France and Britain.

The long coast belt of Italian Somaliland extends along the eastern side of the promontory known as the Horn of Africa. The country is desert, semi-desert, and scrub land, relieved by higher areas in which maize can be grown. Mucilage from hard desert woods is a valuable commodity, which is exported for the manufacture of varnishes, while hides and ostrich feathers are the chief animal products, L. Venieri (1935, pp. 5-58).

The troubled history of Abyssinia has previously been mentioned, and in this connection the main factors to remember are the early introduction of Christianity in the fourth century, the proselytizing

and exploratory work of Portuguese missions, and the invasion of Abyssinia by Mohammedanism. The political intrigues of Britain, France, and Italy, who have all coveted an interest in Abyssinia, are important factors in the political life and development of the country. For a time, Abyssinian independence seemed to be assured by the defeat of the Italians at Adowa in 1896, but even so, the development of the country was retarded by lack of a seaport. Abyssinia was shut off from the Red Sea by three coastal territories, Italian Eritrea, French and British Somaliland. But in 1935 Italy began a war of conquest by invading Abyssinia, an act which ended with the exile of the Abyssinian ruler Ras Tafari and caused considerable political turmoil in Europe.

The word "Abyssinian" has no precise ethnological meaning, since a native of the country might be a Galla, a mixed Negro type, an Arab, or a Jew, while linguistically there is no uniformity of speech, though Hamitic and Semitic languages prevail. Abyssinia is often referred to as a Christian kingdom, but this is misleading, since a large part of the population is Mohammedan and some tribes retain their own religious background. To read of the court of Ras Tafari, and to see motion pictures of the railway line from Addis Ababa to Jibuti leaves a false impression of the general development of Abyssinia.

As a whole, the country is undeveloped, though mineral wealth exists, while cotton, coffee, and cereals are cultivated. Pastoral pursuits are concerned with rearing and pasturing horses, sheep, goats, and cattle. In the arid stretches of country, camels are used for transport into the Sudan and British East Africa. Slave-raiding still takes place, and slaves are brought from the Sudan to the Red Sea to be shipped into Arabia. In the rural areas feuds are common, and the uncertainty of boundaries has led to disputes concerning grazing rights on the borders between Abyssinia and contiguous territory belonging to Britain.

A valuable general account of Italian expansion in Africa has been prepared by Bovill (1933b), and MacCreagh (1935) has described "The Last of Free Africa." Varley's (1936b) "Bibliography of Italian Colonization" contains a section on Abyssinia. Problems of Italian government in Abyssinia have been briefly outlined by Bouleminne (1935). Abraham and Villari (1935) presented arguments for and against Italian expansion. A. H. M. Jones and E. Monroe (1935) have published a work summarizing the whole history of Abyssinia. C. H. Walker's (1933) account of "The

Abyssinian at Home," is more technical than the title would imply. He gives an account of Abyssinian Christianity in relation to the family, the social status of women, education, religious ritual and magic, and the administration of law. For general description of the country, students will enjoy Fuertes and Osgood (1936), who give an account of the Field Museum-Chicago Daily News Abyssinian Expedition of 1926. For descriptions of Italian rule in north Africa, De Agostini (1917, 1923), Mondadori (1926), Minutelli (1912), and Despois (1935), are useful. The work of Despois describes problems and methods of Italian rule in Libya.

### SPAIN

The arid territory owned by Spain lies on the northwest coast and its hinterland. Geographically, the Rio de Oro is part of the Sahara Desert and is, therefore, sparsely populated by an itinerant and restive population. Near the west coast, Spain holds the productive islands of Fernando Po and Annobon, in the Gulf of Guinea. On the mainland, just north of the equator, Spain administers a very small territory known as Spanish Guinea, which is surrounded on three sides by French territory and is bounded on the west by the Atlantic seaboard. Morocco, formerly Spanish, is a French Protectorate by treaty signed in 1912 with Moulay Hafid, the Sultan of that time. Tangier was recognized as an international zone in 1923, with amendments admitting Italian rights in 1928. In connection with Moroccan affairs, Segonzac (1934) and Simon (1934) should be consulted for an account of the life of Marshal Lyautey and his gradual pacification of Morocco by French administration.

### EFFECTS OF EUROPEAN INTRUSION

During the European development of Africa, Negro tribes were depleted by the slave trade, and later native populations have been pressed into European service as rubber gatherers, miners, and laborers on engineering works. Moreover, a rapid extermination of animal life has been in progress, but of late years the appointment of game wardens and the establishment of national parks as game sanctuaries have arrested this destruction by ivory traders and so-called sportsmen. The establishment of reservations, and the appointment of game wardens such as those of Kivu in the eastern Belgian Congo, and of Kruger Park in south Africa, will preserve some of the most interesting forms of life.

The foregoing account of exploration, the partitioning of Africa, and the development of natural resources, serves as an introduction to a series of social problems which are not mere ethical abstractions. The history of contacts between Europeans and Africans has shown that both suppression by violence and a laissez-faire policy in politics are dangerous. Clearly, the harmonious development of Africa depends on rational schemes relating to health, labor, education, and the political rights of the African population.

### III. WELFARE OF AFRICANS

Study of the history and ethnology of Africa has shown the existence of different peoples, languages, and modes of life. Following this inquiry, an outline of exploration, annexation, and economic development by Europeans explained the nature of the impact of a foreign culture on African tribes.

The essentials of the controversy respecting treatment of Africans are focused upon problems of native health and population, the type of education that should be given, and the extent to which native institutions should be allowed to function. Laws regulating the employment of Africans by Europeans, ownership of land, and the ability of Africans to participate in government are also basic problems.

The complex facts of history and ethnology make clear that many abstruse problems of administration are unavoidable, and, in addition to this, European powers are not agreed respecting the treatment that should be given to Africans; England, France, Portugal, and Italy have different views and policies. Moreover, the statesmen of any one European country are not unanimous respecting administrative measures affecting the education and political rights of Africans. Mair (1936a) has given a clear account of the differences in national policies.

#### HEALTH AND POPULATION

If the governing powers decided on a policy which ignored the rights of Africans, the native problem might become a negligible factor. That this idea is not wholly fanciful is proved by the history of the aborigines of Australia, the Tasmanians, the Maoris of New Zealand, and the North American Indians. European intruders had to fight for their own existence; and sense of obligation, which was usually expressed by creation of reservations for natives, came too late to preserve the indigenous populations and their customs. Therefore, we see today effete samples of former tribes and cultures, which provide entertainment for tourists and a safe field of research for ethnologists. There is, however, a recent increase in numbers among the Maori and a few North American tribes.

#### MORTALITY AND MORBIDITY

Is it possible that suppression and elimination will reduce Africans to a position of social and political impotence? In South Africa, Bushmen and Hottentots have declined in numbers as a

result of European contacts, and warfare with Germany reduced the Herero to a fragment of their former strength. G. St. J. O. Browne (1925) has written on the "Vanishing Tribes of Kenya." The British have waged destructive wars against the Zulu and the Masai, and in the year 1931 Italian forces were bombing Senussi Arabs from the Libyan oases. Yet these processes have been local, and European administration has still to consider a vigorous population of Negroes, Arabs, Berbers, and Hamiticized Negroes, many of whom readily accept many aspects of European culture.

P. Ryckmans (1933) states that the demography of central Africa is little known, and opinions respecting the future of the natives are subjective and conjectural. This statement is true for the greater part of Africa, since reliable statistics of births and deaths are the exception, and for this reason demography relates chiefly to native communities that have been under European control for long periods. Ethnologists wish to know the death rate at birth and at all ages for both males and females. What is the incidence of male and female births in different tribes? How does polygyny affect the fecundity of a tribe?

Mortality, especially between the ages of three years and puberty, is high, and before prophylactic measures were adopted the ravages of smallpox were severe. In some areas, populations were reduced by epidemics of influenza, and, in addition to these factors, unjust labor laws have in certain regions broken up family life and swept aside native institutions, so contributing to a decline of population despite a high birth rate.

It would be erroneous to suppose that African chiefs have made no attempt at a census, quite apart from European influence. Leaders of military organizations, such as those of the Zulu and the Masai, knew well the numerical strength of their standing armies and reserves. In Dahomey, the king had a method of keeping vital statistics by dropping pebbles in baskets (M. J. Herskovits, 1932c). But the methods employed and the data preserved by tradition are of little use in modern statistical study.

Some data relating to demography are given by L. W. G. Malcolm (1924), who examines statistics for certain west African, east African, and southern Bantu tribes. He states that "an examination of the figures shows that so far as these tribes are concerned there is a low degree of masculinity in the majority of cases. But the preponderance of females over males at maturity may be due to artificial causes." The normal sex ratio has been disturbed by

intertribal warfare, slavery, and forced labor. The tertiary sex ratio, that is, the proportion of adult males to adult females, is 90; but this figure is based on small samples, and, in view of the different degrees of social and economic development of the tribes considered, the significance of such an average is of doubtful value in determining causality. Demographic research seeks to establish correlations between vital statistics and all the social and physical factors of environment. This can be done only by an intensive study of a statistical kind in limited areas, where all contributory conditions have been analyzed. The fallacies that enter into census returns by Africans have been pointed out by E. W. Smith (1935, p. 52).

A sample of the Lobi has been considered by H. Labouret (1931, pp. 51-55), who states that from 457 conceptions a deduction of 87 abortions has to be made. The mortality of infants aged from one to two years is surprisingly low in this sample; only 8 per cent of the total die within the two first years of childhood. Between the ages of forty and forty-five years 45 per cent die. In the age period from thirty to forty years, 17 per cent succumb, and the same percentage survives to the age period between fifty and sixty years.

In Nigeria, a decennial census was taken in the year 1931 when the estimated population was nearly 22,000,000, an increase of seven per cent over the figures for 1921. Fall in infant mortality at Lagos is said to have resulted from work done by the Massey Street Dispensary, and there can be no doubt that a primary requirement in all parts of Africa is the establishment of clinics that reduce mortality in early years (Arnett, 1933a; Perham, 1933; P. A. Talbot, 1926, vol. 4, pp. 1-193).

Census reports for Tanganyika Territory indicate an increase of 22 per cent in the population during the period from 1921 to 1931, which is a tribute to improved living conditions and the eradication of disease. The ratio 60:100 expresses the proportion of non-adults to adults, and the figures, when compared with those from similar territories, indicate satisfactory economic and sanitary conditions. In Tanganyika the excess of females over males is nearly 7 per cent, and in Uganda the excess of females is nearly 9 per cent (Melland, 1934). See also S. J. K. Baker (1937) for an account of the distribution of native population over east Africa; and for Africa as a whole consult Krzywicki (1934).

The physical causes of mortality are so obvious that the less apparent psychological and social factors are likely to be neglected,

since they are more abstruse and difficult to assess. Is it possible that interference with African institutions and habits will lead to apathy and a moribund condition of indigenous races?

The Tuareg of the Sahara are a proud and sensitive people who might decline under social and political pressure, and at the other extremity of the continent the Bushmen hunters are more likely to become extinct than to be assimilated with European culture. But Negroes and Hamiticized Negroes, who form the bulk of the African population, are unlikely to become extinct as a result of cultural pressure from Europeans. The question of disruptive social and psychological forces will be studied later in connection with problems of education and administration, but, for the present, attention will be given only to *physical* determinants that affect population.

The International Conference on African Children, which was presided over by Rennie Smith (1931), was attended by African educationists and administrators, who made a survey of infant mortality in Africa. The report, which illustrates the general nature of the African health problem, is in agreement with what has been previously written by government and missionary officials. Syphilis, yaws, malaria, sleeping sickness, and respiratory diseases, all contribute to adult and infant mortality, while other causes of a high death rate among children are miscarriages, abortions, excessive work of expectant mothers, and lack of competent attention at childbirth. The death rate of Africans is said to be surprisingly high in comparison with European standards, and the remedies are thought to be an extended use of hospitals, dispensaries, welfare centers, itinerant doctors, and health visitors.

In the year 1929, I questioned 53 adult males of the Ovimbundu tribe with regard to the numbers of their brothers and sisters, living and dead, and also as to the number of their children, living and dead. I concluded that the death rate was about 40 per cent.

This pessimistic report on mortality and morbidity does not imply that no effort has been made to aid survival and to reduce suffering. The medical and sanitary reforms of French administration in Morocco have been mentioned. For many years the laboratories of Sir Henry Wellcome have been established at Gordon College, Khartum, for research into tropical diseases. The Rockefeller Institute at Lagos has a skilled staff of officers engaged with research into the transmission of yellow fever and the prophylactic measures that should be adopted. In French Niger Territory, I



traveled with a French physician who was on his way to the Tuareg of Air with supplies of quinine for treatment of malaria, and vaccine as a prophylactic against smallpox. On the Gold Coast, 59,000 children attended clinics in the year 1928, and at Accra a maternity home renders excellent service. Harvard African Expeditionary Reports (Editor, R. P. Strong, 1931) give a comprehensive survey of tropical diseases in Liberia and the Belgian Congo. W. H. Hoffmann (1932) has written on leprosy, and Horn (1933) on the control of disease. An article by Millous (1935) is a valuable summary of the incidence and treatment of sleeping sickness and other diseases in the Cameroons.

#### FOOD, POPULATION, AND POLITICS

Although millions of natives and large areas are yet unaffected by modern research and treatment, such work makes steady progress, and if the medical and hygienic schemes are broadened and perfected, the attainment will lead to a social problem which should be examined. Every social worker knows that in solving one problem he not infrequently creates another. At present, Africans are far superior to Europeans in numbers, and at times there is truculence and unrest. But the present disaffection indicates only the beginning of national consciousness, and a sense of unity will doubtless be strengthened by extension of education and an increase of population.

Against this, it might be argued that pressure of the growing population on food supply will assure an adjustment of numbers to their means of subsistence. But research in agriculture and animal husbandry is meanwhile tending to make the supply of food equal to the demand of a growing population. Hoe cultivation will give way to the plow. The quality of maize, beans, and millet will be improved, and rotation of crops will be better understood. Breeds of cattle will be selected because of their milk-giving qualities, immunity from disease, and food value; and, as a result of European example, native prejudice against certain types of food will break down. For example, the Ovimbundu are now relinquishing the concept of cattle merely as a sign of wealth, and people are beginning to use milk as food. In many localities, there is evidence that Africans are becoming less conservative, for they are willing to cultivate vegetables introduced by Europeans. The subject of agriculture in relation to population and health has been discussed by A. D. Hall (1936). The most comprehensive work we have on the sociological aspects of nutrition is "Hunger and Work in a Savage Tribe" (A. I. Richards 1932). There has recently been a concentration

on the importance of diet, and to this subject a whole number of "Africa" (vol. 9, No. 2, 1936, various contributors) has been devoted. In his introductory article to this series of essays, J. B. Orr outlines the problems thus (p. 148):

"(a) What does the native eat? i.e. what types of food and with what nutritive values; quantities of food consumed, as a yearly average and at different seasons; distribution of food as between different members of the community.

"(b) What effects does this diet have? On the physique of the native; the vital statistics of the tribal area; the rate of incidence of various diseases, especially those believed to result from dietetic deficiency; and the type of work carried out.

"(c) What determines the native's choice of diet? the potential food resources of the environment and the native methods of exploiting them; incentive to work and the labor strength available; his dietetic theory and practice, emotional attitudes to different food-stuffs, and religious and magical beliefs.

"It is obvious that to complete a study of this type scientific experts of different kinds must cooperate. The chemical constituents of the native diet can be estimated by the bio-chemist. The physique and health of the natives must be described by a qualified medical officer, while for a knowledge of the chemical composition of the soil, or the possible developments of animal husbandry, the agriculturalist or the veterinary officer must lend his aid. Lastly, for a knowledge of the native's attitude to food and its production, his eating customs and methods of distribution, the anthropologist with his linguistic knowledge and training in observation will be an essential member of the team."

The question then arises, will scientific control aid the survival of Europeans in such a way that the numerical ratio of Europeans to Africans is unaltered? The fact cannot be denied that Europeans exist in Africa today in a measure of health and comfort that would have been thought impossible only fifty years ago. The nature of foods, clothing, houses, and habits of life have been controlled by medical knowledge so as to give Europeans a measure of immunity from tropical Africa, and no one can foretell the extent to which acclimatization may advance. Yet, so far as present evidence is trustworthy, no amount of scientific research will enable Europeans to compete numerically with Africans.

If this argument is sound, a serious situation is inevitable; in fact, a crisis has arisen in the Union of South Africa, where politicians

are divided in their views on the native problem. The nature of this problem, which arises from numerical superiority of Africans and a rise of social consciousness resulting from elementary education, has been presented in a series of articles edited by I. Schapera (1934d). Some of the main contributions to the volume include a description of the background of Bantu culture, the organization of reserves, discussion of the effects of Christianity, the segregation policy, and the part which will be played by the Bantu languages and music in future cultural development. This volume, though confined to the study of conditions in South Africa, is a helpful introduction to all the problems of administration.

### LABOR LAWS

A European demand for African labor has forced attention to the difficulty of securing manual help without injustice to Africans. Recruiting has sometimes meant that Africans have either involuntarily, or with the lightest camouflage of consent, made contracts which they have not understood. In the period 1925-26, reports on this subject were prepared under the auspices of the Bureau of International Research of Harvard University and Radcliffe College (Buell, 1928).

The terms of agreements made between Europeans and Africans relate to duration of service, the nature of the work, the distance from home, and the restrictions imposed in labor camps. These points are not clearly apprehended by untutored natives, who press their thumbs on the ink pad and then place their marks on the indentures they cannot read.

In some instances no formal agreement has been made, and from the office of a High Commissioner an order has gone forth to subordinates, demanding a quota of men from each village under the administration. The labor may be demanded for work on roads, for privately owned mines, or for engineering works. Labor of this kind may be demanded in lieu of hut tax; but the period of service required has often been out of all proportion to the short service which should have been accepted instead of a monetary tax.

One obvious abuse of a recruiting system is the intervention of a government in order to obtain labor for a private industry which pays the government a per capita sum for each laborer. Moreover, if a government officer passes an order for labor to each of several village headmen, their choice falls unjustly. Some persons who are in favor with their chief never serve in the *corvée*. But others have

no sooner returned home than they are again selected because they are impecunious and unable to make a bargain with their chief.

Under a system of forced labor, villages are depopulated, agriculture is at a standstill, family life is disturbed, health suffers through concentration in labor camps, and female laborers may be in charge of male overseers who do not respect them. Fortunately, some of these flagrant abuses have been remedied, but further reform is still desirable, since a great hiatus exists between passing a law, formulating a principle, and the actual prevention of abuses.

One inquiry conducted by the League of Nations is a warning to those critics who believe that injustices to Negroes arise only from administration of labor laws by Europeans. Recent events in Liberia indicate that some of the grossest abuses of the system of indentured labor have been perpetrated by educated Negroes on the primitive tribes of the interior. A report of the League of Nations states that in Liberia there has been a policy of the closed door which has hindered research, cramped education, and stifled commercial enterprise. Intimidation has been the chief instrument of Liberian policy, which has allowed no presentation of grievances and no redress. The system of pawning debtors or their relatives in order to pay creditors has been greatly abused, and so also has government recruitment of labor (Christy, 1931a, b; M. D. Mackenzie, 1934).

The year 1930 was one of great moment in relation to the administration of African labor laws. The French Government passed an act demanding preliminary medical examination of laborers, and arranged that the men should be transported to the site of work if the distance exceeded fifty kilometers from their village. The Belgium Government sent commissioners to investigate conditions of native labor in the Belgian Congo. The policy of the British Colonial Office was concerned with the absence of factory legislation, the employment of women and children, and the lack of compensation for disabled workmen. As a result of deliberations on these points, mining laws were adopted for east Africa. In Uganda, factory work for children under twelve years of age was forbidden, and children between that age and fourteen years may now be employed only under special regulations.

The International Labor Conference urged suppression of compulsory labor in all its forms, and the progressive abolition of labor which is now demanded in lieu of taxes. In 1930 France passed a decree against the recruitment by government of labor for private enterprises, and acts were passed to regulate all forms of labor.

Portugal decreed that the state may not compel natives to labor except on public works, or at work which is profitable to the natives themselves, or in expiation of a penal sentence, or in fulfilment of monetary liabilities. Clearly, codes of this kind are ineffective unless they are administered in the *spirit* of the agreement made with the League of Nations, for it is evident that the clauses of the acts may be interpreted in different ways.

As an introduction to labor problems in general, a work by G. St. J. O. Browne (1933) is important. Two short general papers on the labor and economic life of Africans have been published by W. Benson (1931) and A. Werner (1932). To the subject of migration of labor and the recruiting of Africans for service in South African mines, Schapera (1933, 1934d) and W. C. A. Shepherd (1934) contributed. Schapera (1928) has discussed the economic changes that are taking place in South African native life, and a similar study of the same problem has been made by J. D. R. Jones and A. L. Saffery (1933). Schapera's most recent contribution to the study of cultural contacts is an article (1936) relating to western civilization and the Kxatla tribe.

A report by J. M. Davis (1933) is a consideration of the effect of service in the copper mines of central Africa on Negro customs and institutions. Research of a similar kind has been done by Leubuscher (1931) in considering the South African native as an industrial worker and a town dweller, and by Hellmann (1935) who has described "Native Life in a Johannesburg Slum Yard." One of the most detailed studies of African laborers has been made by G. A. Oldfield (1936) in his economic and social analysis of the position of railway workers in Nigeria. Wages, food, housing, education, social status, and personal reactions to the work have all been taken into consideration. The article indicates that an almost unlimited field of inquiry exists, since similar studies could be made for other occupations that attract African laborers in various parts of the continent. Economic facts and social trends observed in one area may not be true in another; consequently a wide comparative study will be necessary after local data have been obtained.

These facts pertaining to physical welfare and employment of Africans by Europeans lead to the broader question of general education in relation to administration.

#### EDUCATION AND ADMINISTRATION

Although these two aspects of government are not identical, a close reciprocal relation exists between them. In the first place

a system of administration decides what type of education shall be given, and the system of instruction deeply affects the social and political situation.

Primarily, administration has to decide whether Negroes are educable, and, if it be granted that some form of education is desirable, what the method, the curriculum, and the ultimate aim are to be. For example, is the system of education to aim at providing inexpensive forms of labor for Europeans? Or, on the contrary, should the instruction be devised to aid Africans to follow their own pursuits of agriculture, handicrafts, or cattle-rearing with greater intelligence and success? And what is the administrator's point of view respecting an education that will enable natives to exercise the franchise and so take an intelligent part in their own government?

These may appear to be trite questions, but the fact remains that they have not been satisfactorily answered. Consequently, administrative policy shows a tendency to subterfuge, and in the absence of clear aims and the courage to pursue them, legislation merely tends toward temporizing and avoidance of open conflict. There is a clash between ethical ideals and expediency, for it is well known that an educated Negro can be a political embarrassment if he agitates for extended social and economic privileges.

In Africa a hiatus often exists between legislative theory and the practical application of ideals expressed in statutes, and this consideration emphasizes the fact that problems of Africa have to be dealt with on a local basis. Marcus Garvey did, indeed, organize a group having as their slogan "Africa for the Africans," but the linguistic and cultural evidence adduced here should have made clear that the great size of Africa together with racial and other diversities make a unification impracticable. Yet, despite the necessity for recognizing the local nature of social problems, some general principles are profitably discussed, and one of these is the different attitudes of various European powers toward African subjects.

In British territory, the color line is strongly drawn, and a person having even a small proportion of African blood belongs to African people; therefore, such an individual is at a social discount. In Portuguese possessions, for example, European males, through sanction of custom, may live openly with colored females. A home may be formed, mulatto children may be raised, and some of these are sent to Europe for education. In British territory, union of a European male with a colored female is always a temporary, and

usually a clandestine affair, without recognition of progeny. L. P. Mair (1934) points out three main European attitudes toward Africans. There is white man's country, where the native is merely contributory. France and Portugal follow a policy of assimilation. The British have in certain regions adopted a system of indirect rule or parallel development.

Further, the social, political, and industrial relationship between Europeans and Africans is dependent on density of native population, the cultural status and occupations of native tribes, the existing cohesion and sense of solidarity among these tribes, and lastly the climate as a factor which might either prohibit or encourage settlement of Europeans.

But, despite the complexity of these problems, there is a possibility of examining general trends of competent opinion respecting axioms of administration and education. In this connection, several main points to keep in view are the educability of Africans, the methods and subjects which best fulfil the ideals of education, the place of religion in education, and, finally, the political, social, and economic results of training Africans in schools founded by Europeans.

A problem bearing on educability is not likely to find a ready answer, since various technical points, together with practical considerations, have to be deliberated. Psychologists are interested in testing innate intelligence, and they wish to know whether inborn mental endowment determines the achievement of races, quite apart from the influence of social background and general environment. So far as Africa is concerned, tests of intelligence have been applied only in a few schools of Kenya and South Africa, and such research is in the earliest experimental stage. This fact, combined with the diversity of views respecting the scientific values of "scores" and "intelligence quotients," makes the method unsuitable for assessing educability and determining the instruction that should be given.

But on turning to more practical criteria it must be granted that the mental qualities of Negroes and other races can be judged by achievement in their own environments. Yet any attempt to place these attainments in a category and to label the achievements as high or low is too artificial and arbitrary, since the criterion is really one of adaptability and survival, rather than complexity.

The foregoing chapters describing African cultures have proved that Negro agriculturalists, Hamitic pastoral tribes, Bushman hunters, and people of the Saharan camel culture have all realized great achievements in adaptation and survival, during which process an

intelligent control of repressive factors has operated. The social, religious, political, and economic life of Negroes demonstrates a power to coordinate these elements into definite social patterns to which loyalty is secured by various methods, including initiation rites. In music, handicraft, and unwritten literature, African Negroes have reached a high standard, and Negro art, especially in the form of wood-carving and metal work, has during recent years been keenly appreciated by European and American critics. Therefore, with such evidence before us, the relegation of Negroes to a low order of intelligence is illogical.

Those who deny the educability of Africans have often made at least a tacit, if not an expressed assumption, that the crucial test of intelligent response is readiness to absorb European education. But this postulate is fallacious, since some intelligent African tribes wilfully resent European culture. Yet it must be conceded that some assimilation of European education is essential if Africans are to cooperate in the higher tasks of commerce, engineering, and political control.

That some natives are able to benefit by European education so as to attain high standards in literature, medicine, and political life is attested by achievements of full-blooded Negroes. Such progress is exceptional, but perhaps the attainments are rare only because of lack of opportunity. If a tree brings forth samples of fruit that are pronounced excellent, one may ask why there is not a higher yield, but the potentiality of the tree to yield something of high quality can no longer be questioned. The argument that the average achievement of Negroes is low in comparison with European and American attainment, though true, is not admissible as a protest against schemes for the further education of Negroes and their gradual absorption into political life.

If one may judge from the Negro writers of Africa, who include A. K. Ajisafe (1924), S. Johnson (1921), J. H. Soga (1930), and T. Mofolo (1931), European contacts and education reveal great natural ability. Results obtained by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures in the encouragement of Africans to write books in their own languages have been gratifying. Competitions have proved the ability of African scholars to take advantage of European education for the development of their own languages as modes of thought and expression. These facts further demonstrate the injustice of denying that Negroes are capable of profiting by European education.



The opinions of Europeans who have been in contact with Negro tribes for a long period are valuable in connection with the problem of educability. When speaking of the Yao of Nyasaland, H. S. Stannus (1910, p. 295) remarks that a certain degree of precocity is apparent in young boys, but this is lost when they arrive at puberty. Sexual excesses seem to reduce them to a state of semi-imbecility, but from this apathy they may recover, or, on the contrary, they may remain less receptive and intelligent than they were during boyhood. This is a somewhat general opinion, and if the observation is true, what is to become of the ideal of education as a preparation for participation in European administration?

Here lies the difficulty. A Negro social system has encouraged early marriage, which usually follows soon after puberty rites. The institution of early marriage and the desire for progeny are corner stones of the social structure of Negroes, whereas in European society marriages are delayed long after puberty, for social, educational, and economic reasons.

This European custom of delayed marriages has advantages in fostering mental development after puberty has been reached, since matrimony inevitably brings restrictions because of early motherhood, and the fact that the husband must concentrate on supporting a family. Postponement of marriage is a form of birth control in the Malthusian sense, and this control leads to improved education, economic stability, and a higher level of material and intellectual culture.

The remedies for marital customs that keep African life at a low economic level and retard further education are not obvious. Is it possible that neo-Malthusian birth control will be taught by Europeans? Is there a prospect that early sexual interests may be sublimated by rival attractions, including athletics? No remedy seems feasible except a slow substitution of European marriage customs and a changed economic outlook in native life. Gradually, and as a result of European influence, a higher standard of life will be desired. Boys and girls will covet greater variety of food and clothing, while better dwellings will be demanded; then early marriages will no longer be possible and unions must be postponed. But such changes in marital custom may lead to illegitimate births, more abortions, and an increase of prostitution. We may be certain that in partly solving one social problem another will be created.

After long experience as a missionary among natives of the middle Congo region, J. H. Weeks (1909, p. 131) states that up to

the age of fourteen years boys are easily taught, but after that age comparatively few make any real advance in learning. Their thoughts become focused on other matters, such as trade, hunting, building homes, and matrimony. The European system of education is of such short duration, and its attraction is so slight compared with the native social background, that the latter proves dominant. The report continues to state that pupils were clever in handiwork of all kinds, and that their memories were good for native lore. Respect was shown for force, but gentleness was despised and interpreted as weakness and inefficiency. Many European observers in other parts of Africa will agree with this estimate of Negro character and ability, and, while urging that a system of education is desirable, there is no denial of the existing unstable emotions and juvenile reactions of untutored Negroes.

The loyalty of Bushongo natives to their chiefs has been described by E. Torday (1925, p. 20). Trials depending on evidence from natives became a mere farce owing to the adherence of every witness to his chief or tribesman. "If necessary, the witness went joyously to prison for perjury or contempt of court, his conscience satisfied by knowledge of having done the right thing." Torday points out the educational possibilities in this attitude of allegiance. A. C. L. Donohugh (1935) discusses the possibility of utilizing basic factors in Negro life during the process of accommodation to European culture. Negro civilization respects authority, has powers of economic and political cooperation, and possesses an educational background of music, art, and folklore. These, according to Donohugh, are the essentials of African culture.

That Negroes are highly educable along familiar lines, such as handicrafts and music, is not open to doubt. In addition to this, administrators may be sure that the Negro race has no inherent defect which renders it incapable of profiting by education of a European type, including reading, writing, and arithmetic. But no one is able to forecast the general level of attainment to which Negroes might rise under favorable educational conditions, and with a social background that is encouraging instead of repressive. The solution of this question can come only from experiment throughout several generations during which home conditions and general environment are gradually improved. The question of the Negro as a biological inferior has been discussed by Reinhardt (1927).

If some kind of education is desirable, what is it to be? All who have met African Negroes on the west coast are aware that the

rudiments of education have tended to produce a cheap class of labor for Europeans. A strong tendency exists towards the acquisition of superficial knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Then native village life is despised, and a low grade of employment is sought at the coast. There the sartorial habits of Europeans are imitated, and impudent cunning takes the place of the qualities of honesty, courtesy, and hospitality which a traveler often receives from untutored natives of the interior, who have not experienced much contact with Europeans.

A consensus of opinion among administrators, ethnologists, and missionaries favors the primary importance of native languages in the education of African students. The acquisition of a European language is desirable, but possibly of secondary importance. H. Labouret (1935), who was for many years an administrator in French West Africa, maintains that the languages of the Mossi, Mandingo, and Hausa are understood by sufficient numbers of West Africans to justify their selection as standard languages which should be taught over wide areas.

Dr. J. van der Poel (1935) argues that the language favored as a medium of instruction should be the one from which the pupil will derive the greatest social and economic benefit. Dr. Van der Poel, speaking of education of Negroes in South Africa, considers that administrators flatter themselves in speaking of their system of education. At a generous estimate, about 24 per cent of native children between the ages of 6 to 16 are in school, which means that about 1,200,000 are receiving no education whatever. He then shows what a small percentage of those receiving education advance to a standard which can fit them for social, economic, and political cooperation with Europeans.

The problem of providing a written medium for the expression of African languages has occupied the attention of many experts. The idea of having a standard alphabet which could be used for any language is not a new one. So far back as the year 1853, C. R. Lepsius invented a universal alphabet which was thought to be adequate for the writing of any language. But research has proved that the number of sounds produced by human voices is far larger than Lepsius surmised. The International Institute of African Languages and Cultures has made great progress with a system of symbols which are adequate for expressing all the sounds of African languages. After further research and agreement respecting the affinities of certain dialects and languages, still more vernaculars

will be reduced to book form for purposes of instruction (D. Westermann and I. C. Ward, 1933). It is desirable that Africans should learn to think and write in their own languages, for, as H. A. Junod has pointed out, a native speaking his own tongue can be strong and eloquent, but if obliged to speak a foreign tongue he becomes a caricature, so ill adapted is the European language for African modes of thought and expression.

An apt illustration of the humorous results of forcing the teaching of English is given by A. W. Cardinall (1927a, p. 261), who quotes a native's contribution to a newspaper: "I must again include that he was a servant to Dispenser X—— while in S——, and was feeding on him as mistletoe. On my taking over the duties he allures me the simplicity of approach, and to cooperate I made a drawback by not getting into his association and colleague as my predecessor was with him."

H. H. Johnston tells of the Negro founder of a cricket club, who advertised that the new venture "would redound to the glory of God and to our fellow men." Another Negro, who was engaged in a suit for defamation of character, sued his opponent for "definition of character." Julian Huxley in "Africa View" gives many instances of humorous English from essays of east African school boys, and points out that educational effort which aims primarily at making Negroes speak and write English is misdirected.

When discussing the selection of a curriculum for African schools, the problems raised are similar in principle to those which have perplexed educators in Europe and America, but with additional difficulties. The experimental nature of educational theory and practice cannot be too strongly emphasized, for everywhere great divergence of views exists. The reports of Matthew Arnold prove the complexity of the problem in England during the growth of a system of public education, and the more recent philosophical writings of John Dewey for American education show the difficulties respecting choice of subjects, methods of teaching, finance, and the ultimate aims of education. How shall educational method blend instruction in "bread and butter" subjects with training in citizenship, and to what extent shall pupils be introduced to disciplines which, though of no great utilitarian value, give a wider mental outlook and keener enjoyment of life?

Nearly a century ago, Robert Moffat (1842), working in his mission schools of South Africa, realized the importance of developing Negro pupils in the direction of their own natural aptitudes,

instead of attempting to give a European veneer of education. Moffat demonstrated the value of handicraft and the elements of secular education in raising the tone of native life, and at the present time such educational ideals are steadily gaining ground.

In "Race Problems in the New Africa," W. C. Willoughby (1923) expresses the idea that education for the Negro should include a wide diffusion of information relating to fundamentals of scientific agriculture and an improvement in the technique of native handicrafts. This suggestion is important since these occupations are basic in Negro life. At the present time, technical education at the Jeanes School near Nairobi; Kampala in Uganda; Gordon College at Khartum; and at Achimota College on the Gold Coast, is highly advanced, and the aim is to disseminate this knowledge widely by the agency of native teachers. I observed in Angola and Nigeria that missionary and government schools were concentrating on handicrafts and agriculture in the hope of improving the economic conditions in native villages, for it is logical to suppose that improvement in material comforts and a raising of the standard of living are necessary preliminaries to more advanced teaching.

After years of missionary work among the Bathonga of Portuguese East Africa, Henri A. Junod (1912, vol. 2, pp. 269-277) thinks that the teaching of reading and writing in the vernacular should be the basis of education. He believes also in the oral teaching of one European language, arithmetic, and of elementary science to show the rationale of agricultural operations and the futility of magic and witchcraft.

The extent to which instruction can help Africans to improve their handicraft, agriculture, pastoral pursuits, and sanitation is a matter of controversy. Possibly the hard crust of custom may be broken, but for a time Negroes will continue to carry their wheelbarrows on their heads, and the use of plows will be slow in superseding the more cumbersome use of hoes. Chapters describing modes of life indicated that many pastoral tribes had great aversion for vegetable food, and, on the contrary, many Negro tribes rely entirely on vegetable diet. A Negro prejudice against the use of milk exists, and the flesh of pigs, sheep, and goats is rarely utilized. In course of time, pastoral tribes may be induced to combine agriculture with cattle-raising, and Negroes may be persuaded to realize more fully the economic importance of animal life.

Problems of education are closely related to the activities of Christian missions and the proselytizing power of Mohammedanism.

The views of several missionaries have been quoted here, and the general acceptance of practical ideals in education is evident. With the spiritual value of missionary work it is impossible to deal, since the subject is highly controversial. Christian missionaries of all sects are numerous, and most of these perform valuable medical and educational work, but the confusion of mind resulting from conflict between Christian and native religion, together with the disparity between European ideals and European conduct, must be considerable, as Bernard Shaw satirically shows in his account of "The Adventures of a Negro Girl in Search of God."

Africans are taught that murder is a civil and spiritual offence, and a murderer knows that he will be punished, not in a hypothetical hereafter but within measurable time at the court of the District Commissioner. Neighbors may raid his cattle or they may put an unpardonable affront on him, yet he must refrain from using his spear; but when Europeans are at war he may join one side or another and kill with impunity, and if he is the owner of a police uniform he is expected at command to turn his machine gun on his own rebel tribesmen.

A cynic might ask why Christian theology should add another god to the pantheon of rather otiose African deities: Njambe, Kalunga, Suku, and others. But the fact remains that European contacts are breaking down native restraints, which have been exercised through chieftainship, social customs, and ancestor worship; and what substitute is to be made for these controls?

It is hardly to be expected that Negroes should attain the standard of intellectual control and social ethics recommended in Bertrand Russell's philosophy. Concepts of rationalism through education, intelligence, and self-control are not readily assimilated by Europeans. Then how can educators hope to fortify African Negroes with intellectual idealism? Negroes require some simple standards of conduct—many of their own are excellent—therefore, if native thought is to be disintegrated, perhaps the simple doctrine of Christianity, apart from theism and mysticism, may provide a social control. T. Cullen Young (1935) doubts the compatibility of Bantu and Christian beliefs, since the former are founded on an indestructible human relationship, while the latter are based on God and personal relationships with Him. The present Christian system fails in not offering comradeship and association. Discussion of missionary problems will be found in J. H. Oldham (1934, 1935), R. Thurnwald (1931), W. Blohm (1933) and D. Westermann (1937).

Mohammedanism (Saintyves, 1933) has had far-reaching effects on law, art, social life, and political organization, and this religion helps to lift natives from naked paganism. Mohammedanism in Egypt, India, and Persia has a cultured background of art, architecture, philosophy, and poetry. Arabic script has proved of practical value for writing several languages, including Hausa and Mandingo. Absorption of Africans into the Islamic faith may be of a perfunctory kind, depending merely on the repetition of a creed; but may this not be true of acceptance of Christianity and other religions? Mohammedanism has crude beliefs and base practices; so have other religions, not excepting Christianity. Provided the best of Islamic teaching could be given, and granted that certain reform movements which are now advancing in Turkey and Egypt continue, Mohammedanism may prove satisfactory as an educational and religious stimulant.

Museums exist in all the principal towns of South Africa, north Africa, and Egypt. Such institutions are also functioning at Nairobi, Zanzibar, and in Sierra Leone. But more museums should be erected in order to preserve records of indigenous cultures, for Africans have a right to be proud of their achievements.

At least in theory, the cinema is an educational factor for showing modes of life in all parts of the world, historical events, current news, and natural history. But, unfortunately, many of the motion pictures seen at the larger towns of the coast, and in the inland cities, portray a sordid side of European and American life, with detrimental results to African morals. The censorship requires greater severity and discrimination (Besson, 1934). An improvement in the quality of motion picture films is likely to be effected by the department of Social and Industrial Research of the International Missionary Council, which now has the matter under consideration (Notes and News, JRAS., vol. 34, 1935, p. 351).

A primary aim should be the assistance of Africans in living their own social patterns more efficiently with respect to agriculture, handicrafts, and pastoral pursuits. Yet the success of European administration does depend to some extent on the teaching of subjects which are normally part of a curriculum in European schools. But while imparting a groundwork of reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography, together with some elementary science, the medium of instruction should be the vernacular.

Education, as the etymology of the word implies, should be a drawing out of possibilities in order to give equality of opportunity;

there should be no forcibly submerged classes, but under no system is equality of attainment possible or desirable. Differences in individual endowment will secure a grading of employment; therefore, education will never deprive Europeans of the manual labor which is essential for developing Africa. This labor Negroes are usually willing to furnish, under protective legislation.

In making a selection for reading, attention should first be called to contributions dealing with general facts and principles. There are countless local problems of education that cannot be considered here, but all these are variants of certain major trends and conditions.

A valuable source of information, in addition to government handbooks, are the reports of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions. "Overseas Education," "Africa," "L'Afrique Française," and "Outre Mer" are four of the most important periodicals for following discussion of educational ideas and experiments. The following are all contributions to the background needed for detailed study. H. Jowitt (1932) has produced a work setting forth the principles of education for teachers in the African field. R. Smith (1932) and E. W. Smith (1934b) have contributed articles dealing respectively with "Education in British Africa" and "Indigenous Education in Africa." L. P. Mair's (1935a) article regards the education of Africans from an anthropologist's point of view. A. W. Hoernlé (1931) discusses the African's conception of education, while Mumford (1929), A. V. Murray (1935), and Lord Lugard (1933b) have respectively considered education in relation to social adjustment to Europeans, to indirect rule, and to racial relations.

Special studies of African languages as an educational medium have been conducted by Meinhof (1928), Barnouw (1934), A. L. James (1928), and R. M. East (1936, 1937).

Topographical studies of education and administration are the subjects of articles by G. C. Latham, who considers the relationship between education and indirect rule in east Africa, and by J. Currie, who gives an account of educational experiments in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. A. D. Power has reported on health in relation to education in Nigeria, and among numerous studies of education in South Africa are works by E. H. Brookes (1930), P. A. W. Cook (1934), and an article by Van Der Poel (1935). The literature on this subject of education in relation to administration is extensive and grows rapidly, but the references given may be regarded as a representative sample of current views and experiments over the greater part of Negro Africa.



## ANTHROPOLOGY AND GOVERNMENT

In the African field of research, and in other parts of the world as well, anthropology has in recent years taken a practical trend in the effort to establish a definite liaison between ethnological science and administration.

Under British rule in Ashanti and Nigeria, government anthropologists have proved that the ethnological study of African tribes is of the greatest practical importance in avoiding conflicts. It is self-evident that legislation should be based on a study of local conditions, including indigenous forms of government, social organization, land laws, magic, and religious beliefs, for without understanding of these institutions injustice and lack of harmony are likely to prevail. A European understanding of African thought, supplemented by education of Africans, is the best means of avoiding clashes, which result chiefly from misunderstandings and ignorance.

Everyone is willing to admit that a gap exists between sound theory and efficient practice, and no anthropologist supposes that academic instruction in ethnology will by itself ensure successful administration. Some of the most successful commissioners were in the field before ethnology was a university subject, and these pioneers won their way by courage, common sense, and intuitive insight into African character. Yet this empirical success is no argument against the need of ethnological training for all who intend to come into contact with African institutions.

The foregoing summary of the ethnology of Africa will have made clear that African attitudes and reactions to European influences are extremely complex. The philosophy of Negro religion is abstruse, and mistakes might be made through ignorance of the Negro concept of land as a sacred possession of dead ancestors. Neither is a European likely to make due allowance for the importance attached to certain objects, such as sacred trees and stones, which are the shrines of tutelary spirits. Social controls of African tribes through chiefs, secret societies, witchcraft, and magic of medicine-men are further factors which are not always sympathetically understood by administrators. Moreover, initiation rites and the institution of polygyny are sometimes obstacles to schemes of adjustment between Negroes and Europeans.

Reaction to European discipline is sometimes of a humorous kind, since the effect produced by punitive measures is the opposite from the expected result. Some primitive tribesmen from the Jos plateau in Nigeria were imprisoned and employed on government

work for a period, during which time they wore clothes and received rations. The clothes were admired and the food appreciated. On release, the prisoners, instead of returning to their own tribe sought employment from Europeans, and in making application boasted, "I be government man," in proud reference to their detention and enforced labor for the government.

The obstacles to adjustment between Africans and Europeans are of two kinds, the economic and the psychological. For example, difficulties relating to taxes on huts, the ownership of land, the right to migrate, and the demand for native labor, are likely to arise when people and cattle are dying from epidemics, when the rows of corn are thin, or when locusts strip the vegetation, and against these disasters research and palliative measures are always directed. But an experienced administrator knows that disaffection and open rebellion are just as likely to be the result of European disregard for a sacred rite or a social custom.

The guiding principle of British administration states that interests of African natives must be paramount, and, if these are in conflict with European interests, the former should prevail. Progress toward self-government should be left to take the course which the passage of time, and the growth of experience, indicate as being best for the country.

On first reading, this dictum may seem to meet all the requirements of justice, but the value of the ideal lies entirely in the spirit and method of interpretation through legislation, and in the procedure followed when dealing with specific crises. What is intended as a high precept may in effect be no more than a platitude, and at every point in the application of the guiding principle great latitude is allowed to the European ruler, since he is the person to decide what is for the welfare of the African.

If the general principle of government is interpreted quite literally, then the ultimate situation of the white race must be inferior to that of the black race; but such a condition would be anomalous, for the white men are the rulers. What does the injunction really mean? Perhaps the interpretation is that Africans should be treated with kindness and consideration so long as their interests and political power do not conflict too violently with the ambitions of their rulers. But if education, combined with medical care, produce a numerically superior and discontented people, what is to be done when they, conscious of their strength, demand a large share of political power?

At present, Europeans are often justified in rebutting a demand for further political rights by stating that the general standards of education and intelligence are too low for such rights to be effectively used. But an answer of this kind will not always be valid, and so long as Africans have great numerical superiority, a backing of armaments appears to be inevitable for maintaining the supremacy of European control.

Only the general nature of the administrative problem has so far been mentioned, but each locality calls for specific consideration and an adjustment of administration to local needs. With the gradual advance of European rule and culture, the strong-man type of administration, in which one officer arbitrarily ruled a large territory, is becoming rare, though the method was well known in early days of administration. This kind of personal rule depended for success on a strong individual who, within wide limits, was both the law and the executive. At present the system is of necessity more complicated. More is done for Africans, more is expected from them, and a greater number of men is required to effect supervision.

Naturally, the degree of self-government has to depend on the level of culture which had been attained before European intervention. A report on government in the Province of Oyo, Nigeria, in the year 1931, illustrates the operation of administration through the agency of African chiefs themselves. But it should be remembered that tribal life and the authority of chiefs have in some areas so far broken down that government through native leaders and tribal institutions is not possible. The report states that under indirect rule general progress and prosperity were satisfactory. All the native powers continued to exercise their prerogatives wisely, and collection of taxes proceeded with punctuality and good order. The native administration has its own schools, police, public works, hospitals, and dispensaries, all of which are organized with freedom, but under the possible veto of British officers. The Yoruba understand the nature and benefit of services for whose maintenance taxes are paid, and they are satisfied that the organization is for their own benefit. See C. K. Meek (1937) for detailed study.

So far as can be seen at present, Nigeria and the west coast generally will continue to present a definite type of contact problem which is somewhat simplified by the topographical and climatic conditions. White settlers could not reside permanently and raise their families as they do in south Africa and in some parts of Kenya.

and Nyasaland. The contact of Europeans and Negroes in west Africa is, therefore, not complicated by European desire for permanent settlement of the most desirable areas. But of course the outlook in west Africa might be changed by an extension of railways, improved irrigation, and the further conquest of disease.

A system of administration based on ethnological study has been tried in Tanganyika under the aegis of Sir H. Byatt and Sir Donald Cameron. The scheme seeks to utilize tribal institutions; therefore, all important innovations in administrative method are explained by itinerant officers before the enactment. A month after this explanation has been given, the officers again make their rounds in order to test the reaction to the proposed methods. Gradually, in accordance with the determining principle cited, administration becomes less arbitrary, yet at present no one can forecast the degree of political rights which can be granted in the future. But granting of anything like a general franchise appears to be impossible, since the European rulers would find themselves outvoted on every measure involving a conflict between the interests of Africans and Europeans.

The so-called "native question" of South Africa and Kenya is in reality a series of problems connected with disparity between numbers of Africans and Europeans, the presence of immigrants from India, division of land, qualifications required for exercise of a franchise by Africans, and the reservation of certain lands and occupations as spheres of influence for Europeans only. These are indeed a formidable series of problems all of which are closely related.

Lord Lugard thinks that the difficulties of land ownership are exaggerated, and that, with improved methods of cultivation and the combination of agricultural and pastoral pursuits, enough fertile land will exist to satisfy the demands of both Africans and Europeans. In South Africa, General Hertzog's policy calls attention to certain alternatives, and of these the policy of segregation, sometimes called parallel development, makes an appeal to many who are qualified to judge. A policy of segregation implies that if Africans associate freely with Europeans they do so on a definitely inferior grading, and the color line must be drawn both socially and politically. But, on the contrary, if Africans accept reservations (and it is not clear why they should do so in their own country), they may govern there and rise in any occupation as high as their abilities will allow.

But such a system of closed reservations would not suit all of the European settlers, since many of them, farmers, for example, desire to employ African labor. In South Africa, the crux of the problem appears to be the numerical superiority of the Africans, together with the fact that education has advanced far enough to stimulate a desire for political rights and participation in occupations which have hitherto been regarded as European preserves.

H. S. Scott (1936) has given a summary of some major differences between the problems of west, east, and south Africa. In west Africa, a vast area is being developed by Africans themselves under the guidance of a small number of government officials. Traders and commercial companies work through natives, with as little disturbance as possible of native ownership of the soil. At the other extreme is the case of South Africa, where the native has been deprived of the bulk of the land, and has become a wage-earner in mines or on farms.

In Kenya, the European has assumed proprietorship of a part of the land, but the bulk of the land remains available for the African population. Scott proceeds to contrast the position in Kenya with that in South Africa. The relations between the European and African in Kenya are unaffected by native wars, or by the record of slavery. The conditions are friendly and not hostile. "To anyone who, after living in South Africa, comes to Kenya, the change in atmosphere is amazing and delightful."

Space has permitted no more than a brief outline of the history of European intrusion and the nature of the general and local problems that have arisen through contacts of Europeans and Africans. Social studies relating to physical welfare of Africans, labor laws, education, and tribal disintegration are rapidly becoming pre-eminent in anthropological work, not, it is to be hoped, to the detriment of ethnology with a historical and ethnological basis. On these older forms of anthropological investigations, sociologists, educators, and administrators will have to rely for their datum line, as L. P. Mair (1934) so well shows in a comparative study of the present Baganda and their forebears, whose indigenous institutions were studied by Canon J. Roscoe.

In conclusion, emphasis should be placed on the need for studying several recent and important contributions to the examination of culture contacts. G. C. Brown and A. McD. B. Hutt, the authors of "Anthropology in Action," think that the first step should be to obtain a general historical account of the tribe, its origin,

traditions, and organization, to be followed by a description of the present political, economic and social condition. "A comparison might follow of the old tribal hierarchy with the existing administrative and judicial organs, showing differences and if possible accounting for them. These inquiries might be regarded as an examination of the means, and investigation would follow into the measure of success in achieving the desired end. This would necessitate an attempt to formulate with some precision what the end should be, and a distinction between immediate and distant objectives would emerge.

"An investigator will wish to know something of the native political organization, the status of the various tribal functionaries, and the position occupied by the subject in the tribe. He should understand the importance of the family and the part which kinship plays in tribal activities. He will also study the rules of marriage and divorce and the attitude of the tribe toward religion and the introduction of new beliefs.

"As the majority of African tribes obtain their living, directly or indirectly, from the land, it is necessary for the administrator to investigate the question of native land tenure in all its aspects. He will examine the system under which it is held, the law of succession regarding it, the uses to which it is put by the tribe, and their present and future requirements in this direction.

"In the economic sphere, the administrator should be in possession of a great deal of knowledge before any attempt is made to raise the standard of living. It is necessary, first, to study the economic organization in relation to the whole social structure of the tribe, so as to ensure that any development will rest on sound foundations. This will include an examination of the customary division of labor, the extent of community cooperation and the sources of income of the average peasant. This later line of inquiry will in turn bring into review the question of wage-labour, and information will be sought as to the general conditions under which it is recruited, and how it travels, lives, and works."

The conception of applied anthropology is then extended to include a study of magic and witchcraft. This subject in itself offers a wide field of research, so different are the local concepts and so varied are the mores respecting the nature and functions of sorcery, witchcraft, and the functions of medicine-men (E. E. Evans-Pritchard and other contributors, 1935, 1937). Other points discussed (by Brown and Hutt) are the powers, responsibilities, and succession

of chiefs, the position of woman before European intervention, the extent to which polygyny is practiced, the practical bearing of reverence for ancestors on everyday life, and the social instability which is likely to ensue from interference with these basic designs of the cultural pattern.

R. C. Thurnwald and his wife (1935) preface their study of conditions in east Africa by pointing out that definite reciprocal benefits result from contact of Africans and Europeans: "The advantage of one party does not necessarily imply the disadvantage of the other. This must be emphasized in face of scores of misconceptions of people who have never acquainted themselves with the countries and the problems of Africa, and of the propaganda which is founded upon unbalanced or distorted reports of others who are not able to take into consideration all the factors concerned. There are, of course, extremes of genuine exploitation. But these belong, for the most part, to past epochs."

Thurnwald's study in social contact and adaptation of life in east Africa views impartially the former position of woman, in comparison with her present status resulting from changes in marital relationships following the spread of both Christian and Mohammedan teaching. Decline in polygyny has far-reaching economic as well as social effects, since reduction of the number of wives interferes with the former division of labor between men and women. The investigators, in addition to surveying the religious and social upheavals that are due to increasing dominance of foreign influence, give a clear exposition of economic changes resulting from immigration of Indians and Arabs.

So complex is the situation arising from European and other contacts with African institutions, and so diverse are the local problems, that the methodology outlined by R. Redfield, R. Linton, and M. J. Herskovits (1935) is welcome as a guide to field workers who feel confused with the play of social, religious, and economic factors, and hardly know where to begin the analysis.

A definition of terms shows that "acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into direct and continuous contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups." "Culture change" is a broader term including the processes of acculturation, assimilation, and diffusion of traits, the relationships of which processes are not constant, but, on the contrary, are highly variable. The results of acculturation are discussed

under the headings of acceptance, adaptation, and reaction. This formulation of principles by the Social Science Research Council of America will give greater precision to research, which, without such guidance, might easily degenerate into a haphazard narration of changes without recognition of their nature, intensity, and inter-relationship.

That practical studies of the kind here outlined will constitute a large proportion of future research in Africa is beyond doubt. The ultimate aim is harmonious adjustment of African and European interests. The future of Africa is obscure, and we are in an administrative twilight. The existing literature dealing with the relationship between anthropology and administration is already formidable in quantity, and there is much more to follow. But a student will no doubt be helped by a classification of the references as given below.

#### GENERAL REFERENCES

I would place foremost among general works Westermann's book (1934), "The African To-day," which gives a continental review of the fundamental problems of health, labor, education, mission influence, and administrative adjustments. Pitt-Rivers (1927) has published a work of wide scope dealing with general principles involved in studying the clash of cultures. Malinowski (1929) has explained what he means by "Practical Anthropology." The social and economic problems of Africa are reviewed comprehensively by Willoughby (1923), I. L. Evans (1929), C. R. Buxton (1931), and Mair (1936a). Hambly's articles, "Racial Conflict in Africa," and "Africa in the World Today," are of service as brief summaries. J. C. Smuts (1930b) on "African Settlement" should be consulted, while F. Krause (1932) and G. Wagner (1936) have made short studies of ethnology in relation to cultural changes and administrative policy. The mandate system has been explained by Van Maanen-Helmer (1930).

Reference to G. St. J. O. Browne (1935), Oldham (1931), Mair (1933a), and Von Gutmann (1928, 1935) give titles of a general kind serviceable to students who are preparing the way for topographical study. Michelet (1932) has explained the general policy of France in her African empire. We have also in French H. A. Junod's (1931) plea for a more sympathetic consideration of the Bantu point of view. See also Nyabongo (1936), "Africa Answers Back," and J. E. Lips, "The Savage Hits Back." In connection with this



reading Malinowski's (1936b) discussion of "Culture as a Determinant of Behavior" will prove useful.

For the difficulties of inquiry in the field, Schapera (1935), Mair (1934c), and A. T. and G. M. Culwick (1935a, b) should be read, for all are valuable contributions to field method.

Ormsby-Gore (1935) has described indirect rule, and this explanation should be read in conjunction with articles on chieftainship under European rule (Mair, 1936a, b; R. C. Northcote, 1933; and Tagart, 1931). De Cleene (1935) has a valuable article on the former and present status of Mayombe chiefs.

#### REGIONAL STUDIES

*West Africa.*—"The Golden Stool," by E. W. Smith (1926), will take a student to the core of the subject by showing how the soul of a people is centered in indigenous beliefs and customs. These are focused on sacred objects that are the life of the nation. E. J. Arnett (1933b) has made a comparison of French and British policy in west Africa. Fortes' (1936) article deals with culture contacts in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast. Mazé (1935) has dealt with the effects of English legislation on marriage customs. Schober (1936) describes the culture contact situation in Togoland.

*East Africa.*—The value of the researches of R. C. Thurnwald (1935), of G. G. Brown and A. McD. B. Hutt (1935), and of L. P. Mair (1934) should again be emphasized as detailed regional studies. Mair (1931) also wrote on native land tenure in east Africa, and on the "Growth of Economic Individualism." Kayamba (1932) gives a glimpse of the present-day life of east Africans. M. F. Perham (1931) describes native administration in Tanganyika, and (1934) gives some notes on indirect rule. Orchardson (1931) describes culture contacts between the Kipsigis and Europeans. Leakey's exposition of contrasts and problems in Kenya (1936b) is not only interesting reading but contains views that are valuable owing to the author's long acquaintance with that region. He deals with the present conditions and future possibilities of education, missions, and industry. Huxley's "Africa View" should not be forgotten.

*South Africa.*—The extensive literature on administrative problems in South Africa will permit only a brief summary. Works of reference to the history of administration and legal procedure are: E. H. Brookes (1927, 1934, 1936), I. E. Edwards (1934), I. L. Evans (1934), Goold-Adams (1936), Hofmeyer (1931), Millin (1927), Rogers (1933), Whitfield (1929). All these are major works. Other

substantial publications are those of W. M. Macmillan (1927, 1930), giving a historical survey of the "Cape Colour Question" and a discussion of "Complex South Africa."

Numerous books and articles deal either with specific problems, or with several problems of a small area. M. Hunter (1933, 1936) should be consulted for social studies of the Pondo tribe. Problems of culture contact and administration in Rhodesia have been examined by Carbutt (1934), W. M. Macmillan (1933), A. I. Richards (1935a, b), and Shropshire (1933). C. T. Loram's (1933) article concerning the improvement of racial relations in South Africa is of general interest. E. J. Krige (1936a) has considered the effect of modern urban life on marital relationships and parental duties among the South African Bantu. The vexed question of areas of segregation has been dealt with by R. F. Hoernlé in two articles (1936a, b). For cultural changes that are taking place in Ovamboland and southern Angola, under British mandate and under Portuguese rule respectively, P. C. Estermann (1932, 1934) should be consulted.

## IV. SUGGESTIONS FOR RESEARCH

### HISTORY OF ANTHROPOLOGY

A long retrospect of anthropological progress may be obtained from A. C. Haddon's "History of Anthropology" (1910; 2nd ed., 1934). Another valuable source, though not sufficiently appreciative of American research, is T. K. Penniman's (1935) survey, "A Hundred Years of Anthropology." But we need not recede so far to review the changes that have taken place in anthropological method.

In the past fifty years anthropologists have taken different points of view respecting methods of studying human life and cultural relationships. As a natural consequence of the publication of Darwin's "Origin of Species" in the year 1859, evolutionary thought has colored all hypotheses relating to man's physical growth, to the development of his social institutions, economic activities, artistic expression, and elaboration of religious ideas.

Students have been invited to note a steady progress from collecting and hunting to agriculture, and from vague ideas of spirit and animism to concepts of a supreme being. From widely separated regions, data were gleaned with regard to totemism, kinship systems, polygamy, father-right and mother-right; then comparisons were made and theories were promulgated with respect to the origins and diffusion of these customs.

The earliest of English sociological works is "Principles of Sociology," by H. Spencer, whose attempt to formulate laws of association for sociological data created a precedent which many prominent anthropologists followed in their treatment of magic, religion, marriage, and other basic factors of human society. Human life was regarded as a whole; therefore, the field of discourse was unlimited geographically and ethnologically.

Such a method is rational, since the aim of science is the establishment of general laws which reveal relationships between cause and effect. But so changing are the conditions of human life through contacts, so diverse are the geographical, biological, and historical factors, and so incalculable are human caprices, that general laws determining human conduct will be difficult to formulate. A physicist who studies concomitant variations creates his laboratory conditions and makes his own controls, but a sociologist is dealing with constantly fluctuating conditions and mental factors that he does not understand; his human laboratory is complex and erratic.

Some anthropologists have favored a school of anthropogeography which has aimed at interpreting the efforts and destinies of human life in terms of geographical and biological conditions. These physical factors have been regarded as primary determinants in the growth of social, economic, and political conditions as we see them today. Our examination of modes of life in Africa indicates that this point of view is radically sound, but the thesis should not be allowed a monopoly, since the conquests of man have to be recognized, and with increasing inventive power the scope of natural determinants will be further limited.

Certain ethnologists are of the opinion that some branches of historical and archaeological study are unimportant because of their lack of practical application. But in anthropology, as in other sciences, it is arbitrary and hazardous to say where theoretical interest ends and practical considerations begin. Search for the principles of a fundamental Ur-Bantu language may seem highly speculative and theoretical, but the work of examining and classifying Bantu languages may eventually lead to the establishment of a few languages which will serve as a means of communication and an instrument for education.

Prehistoric events, including the spread of the boomerang, bow, and other types of culture, as expounded by the Graebnerian school, may not be of practical importance even if the hypotheses are true, but another type of historical work, for example, that relating to the spread of Mohammedanism in Africa, is essential to ethnological study and sound administrative method in north and west Africa. The history of contacts of the Portuguese with Negro tribes of Angola is an essential factor in a study of the rise and fall of the Negro confederacies of Kongo and Lunda. The facts of history and their bearing on the growth and welding of cultures should not be disregarded; but cultural history and the study of cultural adjustment is not the whole of the problem.

The regrettable tendency is for students to ally themselves with one ethnological outlook and technique, forgetting that method is flexible and that each approach to an ethnological problem has some validity (Hambly, 1929b). In recent years, the practical value of intensive studies of individuals, families, and village groups has been advocated in order to provide data of practical importance in education and administration. An investigator wishes to know the changes in personal and social attitudes that are due to culture conflicts, and his method includes a close psychological study of individuals, and

their reactions to cultural changes. Admittedly, this technique is of practical importance, but the method is one that should follow and not entirely supersede the geographical, historical, and purely ethnological approach.

#### THE PRESENT

In conclusion, I must emphasize the importance of a general background of sociology and anthropology, for every African problem is part of a larger complex, as I have tried to show in studying prehistory, history, physical anthropology, and social conditions. Our research at many points leads outside the continent of Africa to Asia, Europe, and America, which have contributed to the African problems of today.

Sociology and philosophy are necessary coordinating sciences that assist the visualization of human life as a whole, and an attempt to study Africa in isolation will be ineffective.

M. Ginsberg (1934) has prepared a short study of sociology which begins with a description of the scope and methods of that science. The terms "society," "culture," and "civilization" are defined, and problems of race and environment are presented. The psychological basis of social life and the growth of societies are principal divisions; then consideration of social classes and economic organization leads to a discussion of some aspects of mental development. H. Spencer's brief work, "The Study of Sociology," is less labored than the large "Principles" and really contains the essence of his views. In German, L. von Viese's "Allgemeine Soziologie" is a modern exposition, with emphasis on the methods of the German school. Another helpful book for sociological background is a study of "Culture and Progress," by W. D. Wallis. There are also several books of the type produced by W. Goodsell, who studies the history of the family in a comprehensive way. In considering "Theories of Social Progress," A. J. Todd has produced a general survey which would serve admirably as a background for the study of social problems in Africa.

R. Linton's "Study of Man," Goldenweiser's "Anthropology" (1937), Lowie's "Primitive Society" and his "An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology," bring us from the generalities of sociology to the more concrete subject of social anthropology. It is here that we realize the hiatus between field work and the generalizations of philosophy and sociology. No ethnologist can doubt the inadequacy of research in the field as a basis for our existing systems of sociology. The two need a closer co-ordination. In the words of Linton,

our attempts at generalizations are, owing to paucity of data, too freely sprinkled with "probably" and "perhaps."

For a generous introduction to the study of African religion and magic, students will read the works of R. R. Marett, and Durkheim's "*Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*." Lowie's "*Primitive Religion*" is a companion volume that gives reviews of these philosophies of religion, in terms understandable to students who do not readily follow ingenious philosophical flights.

In the sphere of economics, R. C. Thurnwald's (1932) general treatment of primitive trade and industry is a serviceable textbook. For psychological work, the broad generalization of Lévy-Bruhl should be contrasted with the local studies of M. Mead. Dr. M. Mead, and R. Benedict as well, find such radical psychological differences in social attitudes, even in adjacent communities, that one might well despair of generalizations about human reactions and mentality.

There need be no misunderstanding about the ideals and methods of "functional" study. Reference to A. Lesser (1935), Radcliffe Brown (1935), and Malinowski (1932, 1936b) gives a clear exposition. The word "functional" is perhaps not well chosen, but the term is meant to imply that we are studying with inner vision the dynamic social forces. No longer are we observing objectively, as a biologist studies colonies of animalculae through the microscope. Yet to some of us it would seem that any complete monograph with geographical and historical introduction, and, above all, a coordination of chapters dealing with religious life, social organization, and economics, is a functional study.

The question of diffusion enters so largely into the understanding of present-day Africa that wide reading is necessary to give a silhouette of African cultural relationships.

All the works of F. Graebner and of P. W. Schmidt go to the heart of the problem of the *Kulturkreis* theory, which Hambly (1934a) attempted to explain in its African bearing. For criticism of Hambly's views, a review by W. Hirschberg (1935) should be read, for it contains references of importance and calls attention to new aspects of the *Kulturkreis* problem. Frobenius (1933), Lowie (1913), and Hornell (1934) are useful in this connection. Kluckhohn (1936), and H. von Baumann (1934) have made important summaries of this theory. The best textbook for comparative study of diffusion of culture, as expounded by Graebner, Elliot Smith, Wissler and others, is that of R. B. Dixon (1928), "*The Building of Cultures*."

My survey of Africa began with an account of the fundamental facts of geology, geography, and natural history. These physical and biological factors were described because they are essential for an intelligible study of human life.

The second method of approach was historical, and, for this investigation, discussion relied on the data of archaeology, physical anthropology, the distribution of language families, and the occurrence of types of culture. The aim was to discover a sequence of events which might aid an explanation of the cultures of today. Historical study is not a mere academic exercise; on the contrary, it is a valuable adjunct to a true appreciation of the construction of a social pattern and the functioning of the parts.

The continent was then divided into regions, in each of which a definite mode of life is followed. An attempt was made to show the diversity of cultures, such as those adopted by hunters, camel keepers, pastoral tribes, and agriculturalists. Each type of culture was treated as a living, functioning entity, with many variations, and analysis was made of the contributing factors in each of the cultural patterns.

A section was devoted to an examination of Negro culture with a view to establishing some general aspects before considering the main specific developments. The outlines of social, economic, and spiritual life were examined so as to show their unity and mutual dependence, and this was done without making a selection of some one trait, such as food or sex, as a predominating factor. The pivotal point of a cultural pattern is difficult to select if the culture is complex, and rather than arbitrarily choosing only one factor, it is desirable to demonstrate the mutual dependence of the constituent parts. For example, in considering the culture of the Ovimbundu of Angola, one might justifiably select one of several traits as a pivotal point around which a monograph could be written. Agriculture, chieftainship, ancestor worship, or the magical rites of the *ocimbanda* might each serve as a focus for study, but selection of *one* of these factors as primary would be misleading, since they are so closely related in their functions.

A study of the European period began with an account of exploration, assumption of control by European powers, and the partitioning of the African continent. This survey led to a formulation of problems that have arisen from the continued contact of Europeans and Africans. Questions of health, education, labor, and the service

of ethnology in administration were discussed, with special reference to present difficulties and the probable trend of future events.

My aim, therefore, has been to preserve a well-balanced view, which recognizes the fundamental unity of geography, biology, history, ethnology, and modern problems of European administration. What kind of future investigation will preserve flexibility of method and coordinated research?

### THE FUTURE

The text and bibliography have indicated where the gaps in our knowledge lie. In preparing detailed topographical and tribal maps, much cartography remains. Ethnobotany deserves more attention because our knowledge of African food plants and the African pharmacopoeia is incomplete.

In historical work, more numerous and more accurate translations are needed from Arabic and other sources. Egyptologists, together with specialists in Greek, Roman, and Phoenician history should produce a comprehensive volume, showing in detail the influence of these cultures.

Field work in prehistoric archaeology affords an almost unlimited outlet for new enterprise, especially in the central and western regions. Statistics for physical anthropology on both the living subject and on skeletal material are deplorably inadequate, and far more type photographs are needed. No student should enter the field without becoming a competent photographer. Apart from the value of photography in studying physical types, photographs are needed to supplement descriptions of ceremonies and handicrafts.

The chapter on psychology was of necessity brief, and the bibliography of serious psychological studies of dreams, folklore, social life, and individual case records, is a small one. For a student qualified in psychology, with ethnology as a companion subject, there is unlimited scope.

A vast amount of field work remains to be done in recording languages and dialects, and in making a comparative study of these so as to produce adequate linguistic maps. Such research is essential to aid the educationist in preparation of textbooks for Africans.

Study of the culture area concept clearly indicates that far more well-indexed monographs are necessary before the details of culture areas can be filled in. Taking religion, social organization, law, and economics as factors for division, anthropologists should aim at defining types of Negro society more clearly. We know of



physical, linguistic, and cultural differences between Negroes who speak either Bantu or Sudanic languages, and the common foundations of their culture have been summarized, but a clearer concept of subdivisions is required. The phylogenetic relationship between Bantu and Sudanic languages is not clearly worked out, and anthropometric figures are absolutely inadequate for expressing the physical differences between linguistic group of Negroes.

With regard to the fundamentals of Negro culture (section III), a vast amount of concentrated research is needed on marital relations, especially on polygyny and divorce. Full tables of kinship and notes on duties of kindred are surprisingly few. Religion, magic, and witchcraft call for more study. The whole economic system, including land tenure and food production, requires more detailed research. Law in pastoral and agricultural tribes has never been adequately studied.

The practical application of all this knowledge leads to study of specific problems of administration. The theme may be a tribe, a political area, a native village, a Negro colony in a city, or the application of a principle of government, but the aim is the same: anthropology must aid the process of social and political adjustment.

The urgent need is for more field work of all kinds, but a great task of comparing and compiling the facts already available remains to be done; the work of surveying the whole field can be revised repeatedly as new data are acquired. We need far more books of the type prepared by I. Schapera on the Khoisan peoples; such books show the ethnological gains and losses up to date, and they are invaluable as a point of departure for further work of every kind.

For field work, the difficulty of mastering an African language so as to dispense with interpreters is indeed a serious obstacle. But perhaps the demands of those whose work has kept them in Africa for long periods are rather too exacting, so severe, in fact, that ethnological work as we know it today in connection with museum and university expeditions is entirely discouraged. I think there is some fallacy in stressing the value of publishing in the native text. The native script has to be translated, since anthropologists could hardly be expected to keep in touch with a wide field of literature in numerous languages. If the need for translation is admitted, then we have the same kind of distortion that may result from use of an interpreter, because linguistic equivalents for absolutely accurate translation are lacking.

Instead of expecting an anthropologist to be polyglottic, or to spend some years in learning a single language which will be of no service in his next field of work, there might be a possibility of some permanent scheme of training interpreters at educational institutions near the field of research. Or the most promising African pupils might be sent to European or American universities with one object in view, namely, linguistic training and a study of the best possible methods of translation.

Finally, no matter what direction a student may take in his African research, let there be an endeavor to see Africa as a whole, before becoming absorbed in a specific problem or method.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERIODICALS

### *Abbreviations*

- AA American Anthropologist. University of California, Berkeley, Calif.  
 AAE Archivio per l'Antropologia e la Etnologia. Florence, Italy.  
 AE Ancient Egypt. University College, Gower Street, London.  
 AES Africa Española, Revista de Colonization, Industria, Comercio, Intereses Morales y Materiales. Madrid, 1913 to date.  
 — Aethiopica. Revue Philologique. Paris. Ed. S. Grébaud.  
 AFA Archiv für Anthropologie. Braunschweig.  
 AFK Archiv für Kulturgeschichte. Leipzig and Berlin.  
 AFR Archiv für Religionswissenschaft. Leipzig.  
 — Africa. Journal of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. Miss D. G. Brackett, Secretary. Millbank House, 2 Wood Street, London, S. W. 1.  
 AI Ars Islamica. University of Michigan and the Detroit Institute of Arts. Ann Arbor, Michigan. Semi-annually.  
 AJPA American Journal of Physical Anthropology. Ed., A. Hrdlicka. Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Quarterly.  
 AJS American Journal of Sociology. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.  
 AJSL American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.  
 AMCB Annales du Musée du Congo Belge. Tervueren, Brussels.  
 AnAn Anthropologischer Anzeiger. Anthropologischen Instituts, Munich.  
 ANNM Argeologiese Navorsing van die Nasionale Museum. Bloemfontein, South Africa.  
 — Anthropologie. Ed., J. Matiegka and J. Maly. Prague.  
 — Anthropos. St. Gabriel-Mödling, Vienna.  
 — Antiquity. Ed., O. G. S. Crawford. Nursling, Southampton, England. Quarterly review of Archaeology.  
 AO African Observer. 18 Warwick St., Regent Street, London. Monthly review covering all African affairs.  
 ASAM Annals of the South African Museum. Cape Town.  
 ATM Annals of the Transvaal Museum. Pretoria.  
 AW African World, and Cape Cairo Express. London Wall, Salisbury House, London.  
 BA Baessler-Archiv. Ed., A. Maas. Königlichen Museums für Völkerkunde, Berlin.  
 BAOF Bulletin du Comité d'Etudes Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française. Gorée.  
 BECB Bibliographie Ethnographique du Congo Belge. Brussels, Musée du Congo Belge, 1932. Contains a list of periodicals.  
 BELA Bibliotheca Ethnologica Linguistica Africana. Ed., A. Drexel. Innsbruck, Innallee, Austria.  
 BIE Bulletin de l'Institut d'Egypt. L'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. Cairo.  
 — Biometrika. University College, London.  
 BJID Bulletin des Juridictions Indigènes et du Droit Coutumier Congolais (Supplément à la Revue Juridique du Congo Belge). Société d'Etudes Juridiques du Katanga, B. P. 600, Elisabethville, Congo Belge. Published bi-monthly, or whenever there is sufficient material in hand.  
 BL'ELO Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes. Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner. 13 Rue Jacob, Paris, VIe.  
 BMNH Bulletin Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle Paris. 57 Rue Cuvier, Paris, Ve.  
 BMSA Bulletins et Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris. Masson et Cie, Libraires de l'Académie de Médecine, Boulevard Saint-Germain.

- BS Bantu Studies. University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa.
- BSAP Bulletins de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris. 120 Boulevard Saint-Germain, Paris.
- BSGA Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Alger et de l'Afrique du Nord. 5, Rue Clouzel. Algiers.
- BSGI Bollettino della Reale Società Geografica Italiana. Rome.
- BSI Bulletin des Séances, Institut Royal Colonial Belge, 7 Place Royale, Brussels. Marcel Hayez, Imprimeur de l'Académie Royale de Belgique, 112 Rue de Louvain, Brussels. Published three times a year.
- BSNG Bulletin de la Société Neuchâteloise de Géographie. Neuchâtel, Switzerland.
- BSOS Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies. Vandon House, Vandon Street, London, S. W. 1.
- BSSN Bulletin de la Société des Sciences Naturelles au Maroc. Ed., E. Larose, Rue Victor-Cousin, Paris, Ve.
- CAC Crown Agents for the Colonies. Millbank, London, S. W. 1. Publish handbooks and pamphlets on British possessions in Africa.
- Cahiers d'Art, 14 Rue due Dragon, Paris, VIe.
- CIAA Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistoriques. 120 Boulevard Saint-Germain, Paris, VIe.
- CO Church Overseas. An Anglican review of missionary activities. Church House, Westminster, London, S. W. 1.
- Congo. Ed., Goemaere. 21 Rue de la Limite, Brussels. Monthly.
- DE Das Eingeborenenrecht. Stuttgart.
- EA East Africa. 91 Great Titchfield Street, London, W. 1.
- EtAn Ethnologischer Anzeiger. Ed., M. Heydrich and G. Buschan. Stuttgart.
- Ethnos. Statens Etnografiska Museum. Stockholm.
- FL Folk-Lore. W. Glaisner, 265 High Holborn, London. Quarterly.
- GCR Gold Coast Review. Accra, West Africa.
- GJ Geographical Journal. Royal Geographical Society, London, S. W.
- Globus. Now affiliated. See Petermanns Mitteilungen.
- GR Geographical Review. American Geographical Society, New York.
- GSNI Geographical Section Naval Intelligence Division. Handbooks. Portuguese East Africa, Kenya, Tanganyika, etc. Publishers, H. M. Stationery Office, Kingsway, London.
- HAS Harvard African Studies. Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
- HB Human Biology. Ed., Raymond Pearl. Baltimore, Md. Quarterly.
- HERE Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Ed., J. Hastings, New York and Edinburgh.
- Hesperis. Libraire Larose, 11 Rue Victor-Cousin, Paris. Contains studies of Berbers of Morocco and Algeria.
- HMSO His Majesty's Stationery Office, Kingsway, London. Publishes many reports on education, commerce, social conditions. List on application.
- HS Hakluyt Society. Agent, B. Quaritch, 11 Grafton Street, London, W. 1. Many volumes dealing with early exploration of Africa.
- HU Hamburg University. Abhandlungen des Hamburgischen Kolonialinstituts.
- IAFE Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie. Leiden, Germany.
- IRM International Review of Missions. Oxford University Press, London. Quarterly.
- IRMI Islamic Review and Muslim India. Ed., Khwaja Kamal-Ud-Din, The Mosque, Woking, England. Monthly.
- JAFL Journal of American Folk-Lore. G. E. Stechert and Company, New York, Agents. Quarterly.
- JAI See under JRAI
- JAS Journal of the African Society. Now, Journal of the Royal African Society. Imperial Institute, South Kensington, London, S. W. 7.

- JEA Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. Published by the Egypt Exploration Society, 13 Tavistock Square, London, W. C. 1.
- JEAU Journal East Africa and Uganda Natural History Society. Ed., V. G. L. van Someren. East African Standard, Ltd., London.
- JNH Journal of Negro History. Ed., C. G. Woodson. The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History. Washington, D.C.
- JPEK Jahrbuch für Prähistorische und Ethnographische Kunst. Leipzig, Germany.
- JRAI Journal Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. JAI for volumes issued before grant of Royal Charter. 52 Upper Bedford Place, Russel Square, London. The Institute issues "Man," "Occasional Papers," and "Anthropological Notes and Queries," a handbook for use in the field.
- JRAS See under JAS.
- JRD Journal of Race Development. Now, Journal of International Relations, since vol. 9, 1918-19. Ed., George H. Blakeslee and G. Stanley Hall. Clark University, Worcester, Mass.
- JSA Journal de la Société des Africanistes. 61 Rue de Buffon, Paris, Ve.
- JVFE Jahresbericht des Vereins für Erdkunde, zu Dresden. Dresden.
- KO Kongo-Overzee. Tijdschrift voor en over Belgisch Kongo, Ruanda-Urundi en aanpalende Gewesten. Ed., Dr. A. Burssens, 34 Brussel-schesteenw, Melle bij Gent. Bi-monthly.
- KR Kolonial Rundschau. Potsdamerstrasse 97, Berlin, W. 35. Merged with MDS.
- L'AF L'Afrique Française. 21 Rue Cassette, VIe, Paris. Deals with education, ethnology, administration, and commerce.
- L'AI L'Africa Italiana. Bollettino della Società Africana d'Italia, 219 Via Duomo, Naples.
- L'Anthropologie. Ed., H. Vallois and R. Vaufrej, Libraires de l'Académie de Médecine, 120 Boulevard Saint-Germain, Paris.
- L'Ethnographie. Société d'Ethnographie de Paris. 3 Rue du Sabot, Paris, VIe. A useful bibliography.
- LG La Géographie. La Société de Géographie, 10 Avenue d'Iéna, Paris.
- MAAA Memoirs American Anthropological Association. University of California, Berkeley, Calif.
- MAG Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien. Vienna.
- Man. Royal Anthropological Institute, 52 Upper Bedford Place, London, W. C. Monthly.
- MDS Mitteilungen aus den Deutschen Schutzgebieten. Ed., Mit Benutzung Amtlicher Quellen herausgegeben von Hans Meyer, Albrecht Penck, Paul Staudinger. Pub. im Kommissionsverlag von E. S. Mittler and Sohn, Berlin, Kochstr. 68-71. Half-yearly.
- MIE Mémoires de l'Institut d'Egypte. E. & R. Schindler, Cairo.
- MJ Museum Journal. University of Pennsylvania Museum. Philadelphia.
- MSAP Mémoires de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris. 120, Boulevard Saint-Germain, Paris.
- MSFO Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalischen Sprachen. Berlin.
- MSSN Mémoires de la Société des Sciences Naturelles du Maroc. Ed., Emile Larose, 11 Rue Victor-Cousin, Paris, Ve.
- MW Moslem World. Missionary Review Publishing Company, Fifth Avenue, New York. A Christian Review of Current Events and Literature. Quarterly.
- Nada. Native Affairs Department. Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. Annually.
- NAM Neue Allgemeine Missionszeitschrift. Grillparzerstr. 15 Berlin Steglitz.
- Nature. Publishing and Editorial Office, Macmillan and Company, Ltd., St. Martin's Street, London, W. C. 2.

- NF Nigerian Field. The Journal of the Nigerian Field Society. Ed., E. F. G. Haig, Enugu, S. Nigeria. Pub., H. F. and G. Witherby, 326 High Holborn, London, W. C. 1. Quarterly.
- NGM National Geographic Magazine. Washington, D. C. Contains popular, well illustrated articles.
- NPN Northern Provinces News. Government Printing Office. Kaduna, Nigeria. Known locally as *Jarida*, articles in English, Hausa, and Arabic.
- NYB Negro Year Book. Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institution. Alabama.
- OC Open Court. Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U. S. A. Quarterly.
- OE Overseas Education. Oxford University Press. Quarterly.
- OM Outre-Mer, Revue Général de Colonisation. Paris, Libraire Larose, 11 Victor-Cousin.
- PM Petermanns Mitteilungen. Vereinigt mit der Zeitschrift Globus. Gotha, Germany.
- PrM Primitive Man. Bulletin of the Catholic Anthropological Conference. Washington, D. C. Quarterly.
- PRSA Proceedings of the Rhodesian Science Association. Bulawayo. Contains numerous papers on South African Archaeology.
- RAn Revue Anthropologique. Librairie Emile Nourry, 62 Rue des Ecoles, Paris, Ve.
- RAR Revue Archéologique. Ed., E. Pottier et S. Reinach. Librairie, Ernest Leroux, 28 Rue Bonaparte, Paris, Vie.
- RE Revue d'Ethnographie. Ed., R. Dussaud. 28 Rue Bonaparte, Paris.
- REES Revue des Etudes Ethnographiques et Sociologiques. Librairie, Paul Geuthner, 68 Rue Magasin, Paris.
- REI Revue des Etudes Islamique. Formerly Revue du Monde Musulmane. Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, 13 Rue Jacob, Paris.
- RES Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie. 28 Rue Bonaparte, Paris, Vie.
- Res Catalogue Royal Empire Society, Catalogues and bibliographies of; see Prostov's Bibliography.
- REVA Rechtsverhältnisse von Eingeborenen Völkern in Afrilka und Ozeania. Berlin.
- RHR Revue de l'Histoire des Religions. Librairie, Ernest Leroux, 28 Rue Bonaparte, Paris, Vie.
- RiEt Riksmuseets Etnografiska Avdelning: Smärre Meddelanden. Stockholm, Sweden. See K. G. Lindblom.
- RR Race Relations. Official Journal of the South African Institute of Race Relations. P. O. Box 1176, Johannesburg. Published six times a year.
- RSR Recherches de Science Religieuse. 5 Place Saint François-Xavier, Paris.
- RTS Religious Tract Society. 4 Bouverie St., London, E. C. 4. Issues publications on African Languages.
- SAJS South African Journal of Science. Johannesburg, South Africa. Contains reports of the South African Association for the Advancement of Science.
- SAO South African Outlook. Lovedale, South Africa.
- SLS Sierra Leone Studies. Ed., D. B. Drummond, Government Press, Freetown, Sierra Leone.
- SM Scientific Monthly. Ed., J. McKeen Cattell, The Science Press, Lancaster, Pa.
- SNR Sudan Notes and Records. Wellington House, Buckingham Gate, London, S. W. 1. A publication of the Sudan Government.
- TC Togo-Cameroun. L'Agence Economique des Territoires Africains. 27 Boulevard des Italiens, Paris, Iie. Monthly.
- TMIE Travaux et Mémoires de l'Institut d'Ethnologie. Université de Paris.
- TNR Tanganyika Notes and Records. The Secretariat, Dar es Salam, Tanganyika Territory. Half yearly.

- TRS Transactions of the Royal Society of South Africa. Cape Town. See TSA.
- TSA Transactions South African Philosophical Society. Capetown. Change of name in 1909. See TRS.
- UE United Empire. The Journal of the Royal Empire Society. Ed., E. Salmon. Published by Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons, Ltd., Parker Street, London, W. C. 2. Contains non-technical articles on trade, politics, and education in British Colonies.
- UJ Uganda Journal. Ed., E. F. Twining, M.B.E. Organ of the Uganda Literary and Scientific Society, P. O., Kampala, Uganda. Quarterly. Deals with history, natural history, and ethnography.
- VRS Van Riebeeck Society. Cape Town. London Agent, F. Edwards, 83 High Street, Marylebone, London, W. 1. The Society publishes historical documents and reprints of rare books.
- WAR West African Review. London. Monthly.
- WTRL Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories Reports. Gordon Memorial College, Khartum. Contains articles on Sudanese and Nilotic Tribes.
- YT Ymer Tidskrift. Stockholm. Svenska Sällskapet för Anthropologi och Geografi.
- ZFAO Zeitschrift für Afrikanischen und Ozeanische Sprache. Berlin.
- ZFE Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Berlin.
- ZFR Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde. Ed., Prof. Dr. E. Freiherr v. Eickstedt, Breslau 16. Pub., Ferdinand Enke, Stuttgart W. Yearly edition of two volumes of three parts each.
- ZFVR Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft. Stuttgart.

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BY

EUGENE VICTOR PROSTOV

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For key to abbreviations see Bibliography of Periodicals, pp. 728-732.

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